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Thomas Harrison

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Major Gen.ll THOMAS HARRISON

THOMAS HARRISON

REGICIDE AND MAJOR-GENERAL

BY

C. H. SIMPKINSON, M.A.
BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD



WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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Editor's Preface

PLATO'S famous saying that in the ideal state kings would be philosophers and philosophers kings, has had its counterpart in England in an ideal which has run in an undercurrent through our history. In its barest form that ideal is that England can only be rightly governed when its rulers are saints and its saints rulers. Since the time of John Wiclif, who systematised this conviction in his "doctrine of divine dominion," it has appeared at times as an irruptive political force. Present usage, even when it clings to the ideal that spiritual vision is an important qualification for government, prefers to use other words, and speaks of "Christian men" as desirable rulers; but all that is meant by that and similar phrases, and something more, is implied in the older and more apostolic term. The ideal may be said to have very ancient roots, running back through the mediæval conception—expressed, for example, in Henry III.'s order du Saint Esprit—that the gifts of the Holy Spirit are specially the gifts of political insight, justice, and wisdom; and still further to the promise that when the spirit of the Lord rests upon the ideal ruler it will be seen as a spirit of "wisdom and understanding, of counsel and might, of knowledge and the fear of the Lord."

Any attempt, however futile and premature, to give political expression to an ideal so high and essentially noble is full of interest; and this is the real subject of this biography. The Fifth Monarchy men whom Major-General Harrison represents have generally been judged to stand as hopeless defaulters at the bar of common sense. They were, in fact, men in whom the ideal of re-establishing a theocracy through the rule of the saints had revived with singular force, and without the restraining influences of historical perspective or political experience, or the insight of statesmanship. Their minds were heated by passionate religious controversies, and intoxicated by a series of military victories so remarkable as to appear to them miraculous vindications by Providence of the truth of their contentions. It is easy for those who read history in arm-chair ease to see that they made fatal blunders in the interpretation of events, and that their zeal for the kingdom of God was marred by a larger alloy of other motives than they knew; but it is due to them to recognise that they held with zeal which shames our listlessness, an ideal which for purity and splendour is, when compared with those for which our generation gives its strength, as a Matterhorn amongst molehills.

D. M.

Author's Preface

THE origin of this short life of a great revolutionary leader, whose importance has been very much overlooked in the story of his times, was a course of lectures delivered three years ago in his birthplace, Newcastle-under-Lyme. Its origin has affected its style and arrangement.

My materials have been collected from the writings of the times, and to some extent from Newcastle traditions. Like all students of the Great Rebellion, I owe a debt it is impossible to measure to the researches of Dr S. R. Gardiner, and Professor C. H. Firth.

I have to express my gratitude to Professor Firth for pointing out to me a very valuable set of letters written by General Harrison to Col. John Jones. These were published in 1861 by the Historic Society of Cheshire and Lancashire, and the Society kindly puts them at my disposal. The addition of these letters, I hope, renders complete the list of the known letters of the Major-General given in the Appendix.

C. H. S.

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Chapter I

The Early Days of the Civil War

1616-1643

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IT is the business of the writer of biographical history to try to depict the actions and characters of men who in great crises have either become supreme as leaders by their remarkable gifts, or seem specially to have embodied the ideas and principles of some large section of the community, which have a marked influence on the course of that community's development.

Casting about for a personality which should be typical of a religious and enthusiastic soldier in the seventeenth century during the period of the Great Rebellion, the mind at first feels overwhelmed with the vastness of the choice which seems to present itself. But on fuller consideration, one man stands out pre-eminently the type of that body of earnest and strenuous soldiers who made the Great Revolution in England, and established the English nation as the terror of the civilised world.

Of the famous soldiers, Ireton died too soon to bring the picture of the whole period before us: Lambert failed so miserably in the latter years of the Republic, and finally saved his life by such a contemptible submission to the new authorities, that he gives no true idea of the power of endurance as well as of the achievements which marked the great soldiers of the time: Fleetwood, capable though he was, was capable as a general officer, not as a politician, and as a man he commands but little respect: even Oliver Cromwell, the greatest of them all, threw away his first ideals as the years went on and power tempted him to remodel his beliefs. But Thomas Harrison, the regicide, whose life was pursued and destroyed with an almost fanatical eagerness by the leaders of the Restoration, shows us a religious and enthusiastic soldier in his rise, in the greatness of his opportunities, in the zenith of his power; and also in his eclipse ill-used and oppressed by his own comrades, who imprisoned him and persecuted him: while finally he was handed over by his enemies to death at the hands of the executioner. Major-General Thomas Harrison may fairly, therefore, be chosen as the soldier best suited to exhibit some of the strenuous ideals of the wonderful period of the Great Rebellion, in their fulness and their nobility.

Thomas Harrison was born in the town of Newcastle-under-Lyme in the year 1616; and as he was baptised in Newcastle Church on the second day of July of that year, was probably born in the month of June. His father was a grazier and butcher in the town, and was so highly respected and played so important a part in the affairs of the community, that

he was four times chosen Mayor, an office which twice at least had been held by his father before him. The Harrisons were therefore a family of good middle class position in their native town, and Mrs Hutchinson's statement that Thomas Harrison was of mean origin is not justified by the facts of the case. He was of the same class as the two Archbishops of Canterbury who ruled the Church in the first half of the seventeenth century, George Abbot and William Laud, who both sprang from that great commercial middle class which, by their ability and diligence, made it possible for England to become the great power she was in Europe. The members of this capable commercial middle class were fully awake to their own importance, and felt that they had a right to a share in the government of the nation they had served so well. But this share in the government could only be exercised through the House of Commons, and for the larger part of the reign of Charles I. the House of Commons never met. It was much more from vexation at their failure to control the government than from any sense of persecution that the mass of the middle classes detested the government of Strafford and Laud, and finally swept it away when the opportunity came.

Newcastle lay on one of the great roads which led from London to the north, and the boy would hear the story of the chief events happening in his own country, and would become familiar with the faces of many of the chief men of the day. The whole of Europe was passing through a period of transition, and the struggle in Germany between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics became all the more familiar to the Englishmen of the time, because their own Princess

Elizabeth was married to the Elector Palatine, who by his rash daring won for a time the Crown of Bohemia, only to lose it in a few months, and to be remembered as a king of melting snow. The middle classes, whether landowners or leaders of commerce, stirred by their own strong patriotism and fired by the violent denunciations of the papal authority from the pulpit, eagerly urged the King and Government to go to the rescue of the Protestant cause in Germany; and hotly upbraided the King because the weight of his debts and the penury of the exchequer gave him no means to support an army in foreign parts. It was not altogether the fault of James I., father of Elizabeth, nor of Charles I. her brother, that no sufficient effort was made to save the Palatine House from the consequences of their own rashness. The Commons refused the supplies without which the government could raise no force and exercise no influence.

The snow king had to fly from Prague, and his own hereditary dominions were overrun by the Imperial troops. But though it was not altogether the English King's fault, this failure to interfere in the affairs of Germany was one of the causes of the distrust felt for him by the commercial classes of England; and this feeling was increased in all the business centres of England, because there was usually to be found some minister or some lecturer who was accustomed to denounce the episcopal government of the Church, and to plant a passion for further Church reform in the minds of his listeners, who came to associate the episcopal system with the fiasco in Germany.

In this heated atmosphere of seething change Thomas Harrison was brought up, while the two chief buildings of the town of Newcastle, the abbey which had been founded in the thirteenth century for the Black Friars, and destroyed at the Reformation, and the huge castle which had been built to keep the neighbourhood in subjection, constantly reminded him of the great changes made in recent years in the spiritual and commercial life of the time, and suggested to him how much England might be improved by further alterations in its religious teaching and its social organisation.

Brought up under these conditions, and probably educated at the recently founded Grammar School in Newcastle, Thomas Harrison was after a time sent to London to be clerk to a solicitor in Clifford's Inn, named Thomas Houlker. And here again young Harrison found himself associated with a number of young men who helped to frame his mind to opposition to the King and bishops. In this solicitor's office he remained till the struggle began in 1642 between the King and Parliament. Then he with a number of other young men, who were connected with the law, resolved to take part in the struggle on the Parliamentary side. They offered themselves for exercise in military drill, and were speedily enrolled in the body-guard of the new commander-in-chief, the Earl of Essex, who as a soldier trained in the Dutch wars, was able to inspire the young men of London with keen enthusiasm after the long years of peace.

Clarendon in one of those wonderful appreciations of the chief men of his time, which are a principal

charm of his history, attributes much of the special bent of the character of Thomas Harrison, whom he detested, to this long sojourn among men engaged in the practice of the law. "Harrison was the son of a butcher near Nantwich in Cheshire, and had been bred up in the place of a clerk under a lawyer of good account in those parts, which kind of education introduces men into the language and practice of business, and if it be not resisted by the great ingenuity of the person, inclines young men to more pride than any other kind of breeding, and disposes them to be pragmatical and insolent, though they have skill to conceal it from their masters, except they find them (as they are too often inclined to) cherish it. When the rebellion first began, this man quitted his master (who had relation to the King's service, and discharged his duty faithfully) and put himself into the Parliamentary army. Where, having first obtained the office of a cornet, he got on, by diligence and sobriety, to the state of a captain without any signal notice taken of him till the New Model of the army, when Cromwell, who possibly had knowledge of him before, found him of a sort and disposition fit for his service, much given to prayer and to preaching, and otherwise of an understanding capable to be trusted in any business, to which his clerkship contributed very much, and then he was preferred very much."

The body-guard of Lord Essex became famous as a training ground for officers; and Ludlow, Fleetwood, Ireton, Hammond and many others served their apprenticeship in this force, and were speedily promoted to a command in other regiments.

Harrison was twenty-six years of age when the war broke out; he was apparently already inspired with a passionate enthusiasm which believed that an opportunity was now given to Englishmen to establish upon earth the visible kingdom of Christ. The exact meaning of this phrase was probably very indefinite and very misty to the minds of the men who spoke most about it, and only gradually took clear shape as the years went on, and the practical difficulties of life became more and more familiar and important.

The body-guard consisted of a hundred gentlemen, into whose company it is noticeable that Harrison was admitted without any demur; it was chiefly recruited from the Inns of Court, and was under the command of Sir Philip Stapylton. On September 9th, 1642, Essex with his body-guard rode to Northampton, and put himself at the head of the army of 20,000 men who were to crush the King. So confident were they of success that many of his officers were discussing how simple a matter it would be to seize Charles in his own camp at Nottingham.

This service in the body-guard appealed to Harrison on more than one side of his complex nature. He felt himself, like one of the heroes of Hebrew story, to be going out to war for God against the mighty; he was convinced that the fighting was undertaken with a view to establish the reign of righteousness in England. But beside this, his was a character which loved the pomp of war. The portrait of him, which has been handed down, shows us a somewhat unintellectual face, with long love-locks over his shoulders; and we know from the report given of him by Mrs Hutchinson and others that

he was specially fond of bright and gorgeous clothing. To belong to this conspicuous corps of cavalry, splendidly caparisoned and placed in a most prominent position in the pageant of the army, was a delight to the young man, already glad to escape from the dull drudgery of the law.

But he was soon to find by painful experience that the work on which he had now entered was to be no mere military parade. Within a few days of Essex's departure from London, and failure to surprise Charles at Nottingham, certain events had made the Royalist army as confident of success as the Parliamentarian army already had been. Charles had hastily broken up his camp at Nottingham, and had marched away into Shropshire and Cheshire, where he had obtained a great accession of followers. Cheered by many influential recruits, the country gentry and yeomanry, of whom his army was so largely composed, expected to scatter to the winds the mixed forces which Essex commanded. The trained bands indeed of London were well disciplined, and were soon to prove the good stuff of which they were made, but, according to the estimate formed by Oliver Cromwell of the larger part both of infantry and cavalry, there was very small likelihood that they would long face the cavalry of the King. Cromwell says of them in speaking to Hampden, "Your troops are most of them old decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and their troops are gentlemen's sons and persons of quality. Do you think that such base and mean spirits will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour, courage, and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit, and take it

not ill what I say, I know you will not, of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else you will be beat still."

The first fight between the out-posts of the two armies seemed very much to support the correctness of the judgment of the Cavaliers, as to the capacity of their enemies to encounter the real dangers of war. A body of Parliamentary cavalry, under the command of Colonel Fiennes, was reconnoitring in the neighbourhood of Worcester, which was just being evacuated by the Royalist forces, when they found themselves in immediate contact with a body of horsemen under the leadership of Prince Rupert. In a few moments Rupert, seizing the opportunity as they debouched somewhat in confusion from a country lane, charged them with desperate fury. Fiennes' troopers were broken and took refuge in a precipitate flight towards the Severn, fearing that they were still pursued long after Rupert had returned to Worcester. Nine miles from the field of battle at Pershore the body-guard of Essex was encamped, and as the runaways dashed through the village exclaiming that Prince Rupert was behind them, the body-guard also joined in the headlong flight.

Edmund Ludlow, at the time a soldier of the body-guard, afterwards famous as Lieutenant-General Ludlow in Ireland, describes the confusion of the moment in his memoirs.

"Our life-guard being for the most part strangers to things of this nature, were much alarmed with this report; yet some of us, unwilling to give credit to it till we were better informed, offered ourselves to go out upon a further discovery of this matter. But our captain, Sir Philip Stapylton, not being

then with us, his lieutenant, one Bainham, an old soldier (a generation of men much cried up at that time) drawing us into a field, where he pretended we might more advantageously charge if there should be occasion, commanded us to wheel about; but our gentlemen not yet well understanding the difference between wheeling about and shifting for themselves, their backs being now towards the enemy, whom they thought to be close in the rear, retired to the army in a very dishonourable manner, and the next morning rallied at the headquarters, where we received but cold welcome from the general, as we well deserved." (Firth's Edition, i. 40-41.)

Such was the first appearance of this renowned body on the field of battle; and it was the first approach to fighting that befell a number of men afterwards to be distinguished officers in the New Model Army. The skirmish proved that there was a commander on the Royalist side who understood something of the business of cavalry warfare; and the hopes of the Cavaliers rose high, and the confidence of the Parliamentarians drooped, as they heard the tale of this headlong flight. Numbers of the inhabitants of the district had come into the neighbourhood of Worcester to see what they could of the armies. One of them, afterwards to be among the most famous men of the period, Richard Baxter, has left us a report of this panic-stricken flight from Powick Bridge. Baxter, now settled at Kidderminster as a minister of the town, had espoused the cause of the Parliament against the King; and he went back to his home more than ever doubtful of the result of the struggle.

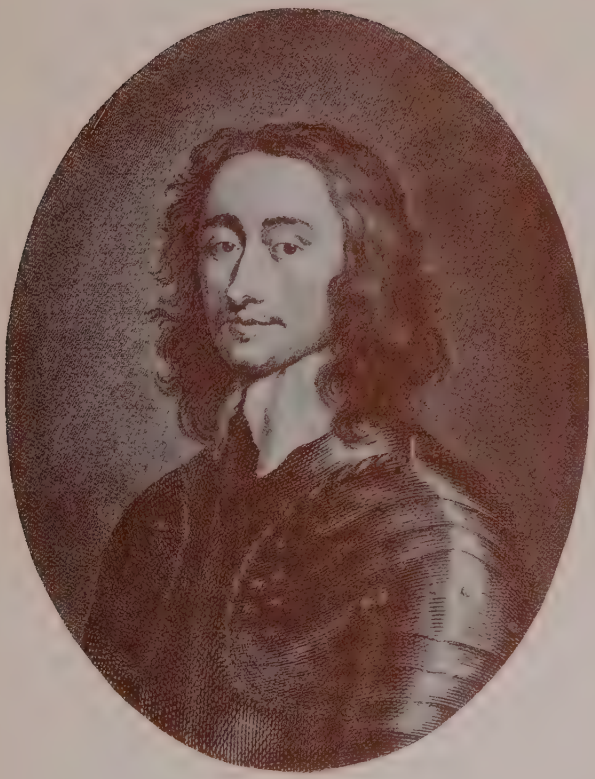
The body-guard was soon to have an opportunity of

recovering its prestige. The flight at Powick Bridge had taken place on the 23rd of September ; on the 23rd of October the Royalist army and the army of Essex found themselves face to face at Edgehill. The King's army was strongly posted on the slope itself; but as Essex showed no sign of willingness to attack, the King moved his forces down the hill, hoping and expecting to overwhelm him by the superiority of his cavalry. As usual the foot of both armies were stationed in the centre, and a large body of horse on either flank. The battle began by a charge of Royalist horse under Rupert, who commanded the right wing. He swept away his opponents like chaff before the wind, but the troopers, unaccustomed to warfare, galloped fiercely after the fugitives. The Royalist left wing had had the same success under Wilmot and, like their comrades, galloped after the routed forces in fierce career ; but in their haste they had overlooked two regiments of cavalry belonging to the Parliamentary army, who were commanded by Sir Philip Stapylton and Sir William Balfour. As the reserve of the Royalist cavalry had followed Rupert, the Royalist foot were now left entirely unprotected by the cavalry, who should have sheltered their flanks, while the Parliamentary army still retained a small body of the best cavalry on their side; and these, seeing the wild charge of Wilmot and Rupert, faced away to the Royalist rear, and prepared to give an effective support to the infantry in their attack upon the Royalist centre. The regiment of Sir Philip Stapylton was composed of several troops of horse, one of them under the command of Oliver Cromwell, who had recruited them in his own neighbourhood of

Huntingdon; while another troop consisted of the body-guard, thirsting to retrieve their good name. The charge of these two regiments broke the Royalist foot; the Royal standard was captured, and the Parliamentarians would have inflicted a complete defeat upon the King's army had not the squadrons of Rupert and Wilmot returned from the chase, too late indeed to gain the victory, but just in time to protect the retiring Royalist foot. Here Oliver Cromwell found himself fighting side by side with several members of the body-guard, who later on were to achieve renown under his leadership; and probably he now made up his mind to obtain the services of some of the members of that body-guard as officers of the force of cavalry which he was soon to collect, and in which he took such care that not only the officers but the private soldiers themselves should be men of thoroughly religious character.

The battle of Edgehill indeed was indecisive, but the course of it established the acuteness and skill of Oliver Cromwell. Most of the Parliamentary cavalry had proved worthless, but the courage and discipline of certain religious regiments had been the most marked feature in almost obtaining the victory for the troops of Essex.

The career of Thomas Harrison for almost another year remains obscure. His friend and leader, Charles Fleetwood, stayed with Essex up to the battle of Newbury fought on September 20th, 1643. Probably, therefore, Harrison also fought in the army of Essex until that date. In that case he took his part in the relief of Gloucester, which proved so important an event in the military proceedings of the year, as well



LIEUTENANT-GENERAL FLEETWOOD.

(*From the engraving by Houbraken after the painting by Walker.*)

as in the first battle of Newbury. But whatever his share in this campaign, no trace of his presence appears. We meet him as major in Fleetwood's regiment of horse in the battle of Marston Moor, and that regiment was part of the cavalry which Cromwell had collected in the eastern counties of England. It is by no means unlikely that, when the battle of Newbury had finished the campaign of Essex for the year 1643, that general found himself able to dispatch reinforcements and a supply of officers to the army of the Eastern Association.

The interest for us lies in the evidence that Harrison was now becoming a figure of importance in the Parliamentary army; he was, indeed, a man unlikely to remain unnoticed, since he had the gift of expressing himself with remarkable enthusiasm and eloquence, and when once his opportunity of distinguishing himself came, he was sure to prove that he understood how to fight as well as to talk. And further, his religious opinions had already taken the shape of a confidence in the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and in the call given to the soldiers to vindicate the authority of Almighty God, by establishing the reign of righteousness in England. These opinions were entirely in harmony with the aspirations of many of the bravest fighters in the ranks of the Eastern Counties Association. Vague and misty they necessarily were at present; none the less the expression of them stirred high hopes in the hearts of men with whom personal religion was ever the first motive of action.

A short sketch of the condition of things in the eastern counties will best show us how Harrison was

naturally marked out by the sympathy of some and the opposition of others as a man destined to a great career.

In August 1643, Lord Manchester had been made commander-in-chief by the Parliament in that part of England; and to some extent his appointment must have been unpleasant to men who looked up to Cromwell as their natural leader. There was no doubt a considerable preponderance of Puritans in the eastern counties. In these counties, the commercial classes were specially numerous and influential, and the commercial classes were for the most part against the bishops, and in many cases had formed small religious groups, well organised, and styling themselves "gathered churches." And though later events were to prove that there were large numbers of Royalists in this district, Cromwell at the very beginning of the war had acted with such swift decision, that he had put it out of the power of the East Anglian Cavaliers to move, and had made the eastern counties the most solid stronghold of the Parliament. He had put down with a hard hand the preparations of the University of Cambridge to support the King; and he had welcomed Independents and Anabaptists into the body of cavalry which he had slowly recruited and prepared for the war. To Oliver Cromwell, then, all the religious Puritans in the eastern counties looked up as their natural leader; and though Cromwell himself welcomed Manchester's arrival, this great nobleman, who was a convinced Presbyterian, was anything but attractive to the more advanced Puritans, who had taken up the tenets of Independency and Anabaptism. But Cromwell had good cause to

welcome Manchester, since for his part he had soon measured the good-humoured weakness of the new commander, and knew that he could bend him to his will. He became lieutenant-general of the army of the Eastern Association, and he commanded the cavalry; but the infantry, to his considerable indignation, were placed under a Scotch major-general, Crawford, who was an ardent Presbyterian. Crawford introduced a conspicuous tinge of Presbyterianism into the ranks of the foot regiments. Thus there were in this army opinions to suit both of the great religious parties which supported the Parliament in the Eastern Association; and therein lay a danger of future division and serious mischief. Cromwell's cavalry composed the force in the army most likely to sympathise with the ideals of Harrison; while the openly-expressed dislike felt for him by many of the leaders of the infantry, only increased his popularity with the troopers, who felt themselves so superior in efficiency and achievement to the companies which had to fight on foot.

If the suggestion be correct, that the beginning of October was the period at which Fleetwood and Harrison left the army of Essex, and were promoted to important positions in the army of the eastern counties, they may have been present at the small but decisive engagement at Winceby on the 11th of October 1643. At that time the eastern army was engaged in reconnoitring towards Lincolnshire. A few weeks earlier the fortunes of the Parliamentary cause in the north of England had sunk to the lowest ebb, which they had reached in the war. The Marquis of Newcastle, who commanded for the King in the

north, had conquered the whole of Yorkshire, had shut up the Fairfaxes in the fortress of Hull, and had sent considerable forces into Lincolnshire. From Lincolnshire his detachments were again driven by the energetic Cromwell at the head of his cavalry, and soon Cromwell's victory at Winceby finally expelled the King's forces from the disputed county of Lincolnshire.

This fight of Winceby had a still greater result, for on the next day, Newcastle finding that his army was likely to have its retreat from Hull threatened by the victorious forces, felt compelled to break up his camp and retired toward York. The hard won success, which had stayed for the time the onward advance of Newcastle, whose instructions were to invade the eastern counties, and march through them to London, brought great glory to Cromwell and his horsemen. They had shown themselves more than a match for the Royalists, and their magnificent equipment and steady discipline were much talked of in London, where, however, attentive observers of the progress of events noted the growth and the power of the Independents and Anabaptists among the successful forces; especially they commented on the character of the regiment of Fleetwood. "Look," they said, "at Colonel Fleetwood's regiment, with his Major Harrison, what a cluster of preaching officers and troops there is here."

In this force was to be found the nucleus of that famous army which was to endeavour to set up the kingdom of Christ upon earth, and of whose officers, at once preachers and fighters; Harrison was to be the most conspicuous personality.

Chapter II

The Independents at Marston Moor

1644

The increasingly fierce character of the war—The intervention of the Scots—The solemn League and Covenant—The siege of York—The battle of Marston Moor—Rupert, Cromwell and David Leslie—Harrison bears the news to London—Depression of the Presbyterians—Triumph of the Independents—Variations in the story of Marston Moor—Opinions of Baillie—Harrison's increased importance.

THE long period of peace during the reigns of the two first Stuarts had for the time quieted the passion for fighting which is so great an element in the human character. The particular form taken by the service and the teaching of the Anglican Church, with its calm, somewhat ponderous reverence and its common-sense preaching, had done much to allay the turbulent spirit of Englishmen. Both the central government and the bishops had done their utmost to suppress strong preaching on controversial points. The number of Nonconformists had been, after all, comparatively small in England; and if it had not been for the Scottish upheaval, the quiet of the reign of Charles I., with its commercial prosperity, might have continued for many years. But by the time that the two armies met on Marston Moor, all the calmness of men's judgment had passed away; and fierce passions, which loved

fighting for its own sake, had burst forth in all their fury, like a long suppressed volcano. We can trace this outbreak of ferocity which characterised all parties in the Civil Wars to the day when Pym, Hampden, Vane and their colleagues had resolved at any cost to take away the life of Strafford. Strafford's was the first blood shed for a political cause in England after many years; and the long line of executions continued, until the chief instrument in the death of Strafford, Sir Henry Vane the younger, had in his turn mounted the scaffold.

But if the attractive calm and quiet of political and social life under Charles I. had passed away with the beginning of the Civil War, that war produced characters on an heroic scale which makes the story of those years intensely interesting; for the danger and the stress of combat brought out and brought forward characteristics of strength, of conviction and of endurance, which must have slumbered unnoticed in times of peace. Little groups of men, some heterodox, and some dissenting from the ordinary outward ceremonies, were noticed with a contemptuous smile, until they suddenly appeared armed cap-a-pie, and in organised force, striking deadly blows on the field of battle.

On Marston Moor, on 2nd July 1644, were encamped two great armies, the Royalist numbering some 18,000 men, and the Parliamentary numbering some 27,000, presenting in their ranks very varied types, some indeed unprincipled and degraded, but the greater part keen and eager in their beliefs, and displaying a development which only the rapid changes and passions of war could have produced in so short a seed time.

The Marquis of Newcastle, whom we have seen victorious in the north, and threatening to overwhelm the Eastern Association, had been shut up in York by a large Scottish army, combining for that purpose with the force of the eastern counties under Manchester and Cromwell, and with the remains of the Yorkshire Parliamentary troops under Lord Fairfax and his more distinguished son, Sir Thomas.

Terrified by the success of the Royalist party in 1643, the leaders of the Long Parliament had entreated the Scots to come to their assistance, pointing out to them that if Charles were victorious in England, he would presently turn his arms against the Presbyterians in Scotland. Vane, who was at the head of the English Embassy to Scotland, was himself a strong Independent, and already inclined to the doctrines of the Fifth Monarchy. Nothing was to him more distasteful than the idea of handing over to a clerical caste the control of religious thought and practice in England; rather he was prepared to press the doctrines of liberty to their most extreme limit. He had therefore tried to persuade the Scottish leaders to form an alliance with England on a purely political footing. But the Scottish ministers controlled the policy of Scotland, and they insisted that only by a union of religious opinion and organisation could the two nations work together through the perils of the time. Vane had been eventually obliged to agree to a solemn league and covenant, to be taken by all officials of both nations, and which bound both nations to the strictest form of Presbyterianism. Only when this agreement had been formally accepted would the Scots put their forces in motion to save the situation

in the north of England. But the cavalry of the Eastern Association heard with disgust and indignation of this new attempt to limit freedom of conscience.

In the beginning of 1644, the Scottish army had crossed the Border; the Earl of Leven was their commander-in-chief; while General David Leslie led the cavalry. Threatened in the rear by the Fairfaxes from Hull, and the eastern army from Lincoln, Newcastle had been compelled to abandon his northern conquests, and to shut himself up in York. When this news reached him, the King had naturally thought that the loss of York and Newcastle-on-Tyne would seriously straiten his dominions in England, and had therefore instructed Prince Rupert to relieve York at any cost. Rupert, gathering together forces in Cheshire and Lancashire, from the Royalist garrisons, from the tenantry of Lord Derby and other great peers, and from the loyal Welsh counties, appeared in the neighbourhood of York, just as the provisions in the city were failing, and as Newcastle was preparing to surrender. His appearance at once raised the siege, and the Parliamentary army retreated to the east over the higher lands of Marston Moor. Thither Rupert, thirsting for the fight, eagerly followed them; and the two armies found themselves face to face as the evening was approaching, parted only by a ditch; the Royalists coming from York, the Parliamentarians descending the slopes of Marston Moor. Throughout the late afternoon, Cavaliers and Roundheads faced one another with little movement on either side, but before the evening of the 2nd July 1644 had passed away, suddenly, no one



(From the painting by Dobson.)

quite knew how, the fight began, and in an hour's space 4000 corpses strewed the hard-fought field.

On the Royalist side Prince Rupert commanded the cavalry on the right wing, the horse on the left were led by General Goring. The centre was under the direction of the Marquis of Newcastle and Lord Eythin. Thus, of the four principal generals of the Royalist side, three, Rupert, Goring, and Eythin, were soldiers of fortune, fighting for the interest and joy of battle, rather than for any deep principles. The time was to come when Prince Rupert, after a long discipline of misfortune, would stand out as at once a leader in war and a leader in those quiet scientific pursuits which found their centre in the Royal Society of Charles II.'s reign, and which helped so much to allay the savage passions of Englishmen at the close of the Civil War. But when he charged at Marston Moor, Rupert was still driven by the hot blood of youth to the delights of hard blows quickly given and fiercely returned. Eythin and Goring were soldiers of fortune of a more common type ; while Newcastle showed the characteristics of the great aristocratic class in England, men who enjoyed literature and art and nature, and felt themselves to be conferring a favour on their less fortunate fellow-countrymen when they undertook to govern them for their own good. Thus Newcastle shared in some of the most conspicuous prejudices of his royal master, prejudices of divine right, of great birth, and high position, which irritated beyond endurance the hearts and minds of the thoughtful and prosperous middle class of the time.

On the Parliamentary side Sir Thomas Fairfax

commanded the horse which faced Goring; on his left were the infantry of the Yorkshire troops under the command of his father Lord Fairfax. Next to them came the Scottish infantry under Lord Leven, then Manchester's infantry, and finally, on the left the cavalry of the Eastern Association, numbering more than 2000 men under the guidance of Cromwell, with some troops of Scottish horse commanded by General David Leslie in reserve. This was the first time Rupert met Cromwell, whose renown as a cavalry commander had long stirred his emulation. "Is Cromwell there?" he is reported to have asked of a prisoner, "and will they fight? If they will, they shall have fighting enough."

The horsemen of the Eastern Association passed the ditch which separated the two armies and charged down upon Prince Rupert; charge was answered by charge, and for a few moments it seemed as if the famous Cromwellian cavalry would go down before the reckless Cavaliers of Prince Rupert. Cromwell himself was wounded in the neck, and several of his troops had begun to retreat, but while they still struggled fiercely against the Cavalier cavalry, David Leslie moved forward, attacked Prince Rupert on the flank, and after a few moments of furious fighting, Rupert's men broke and fled from the field. Cromwell entrusted the pursuit to Leslie, held his own force firmly together, and marked the fortune of the day.

He soon found occupation enough. Goring had utterly routed Sir Thomas Fairfax, and scattered before him the infantry of Yorkshire, and a large number of the Scottish infantry. Lord Fairfax and the Earl of Leven had fled from the field; but satis-

fied with his success, Goring had hurried off in pursuit of his flying enemies, leaving complete victory to be secured by the well-drilled infantry of Newcastle, who were rapidly beating down their opponents.

Wheeling round upon the rear, Cromwell caught Goring returning from the pursuit and scattered his troops; then he returned to aid the infantry of Manchester, and the relics of the Scottish infantry in their fight against the Royalists. These too were soon broken, and when night fell, besides the 4000 men who lay dead upon the field in this bloodiest battle of the Civil War, 1000 of the Royalists had been captured, and the rest were in headlong flight to York. In the charges of Cromwell which decided the fight, Harrison had his share as major in Fleetwood's regiment. So greatly did he distinguish himself, that he was sent by Cromwell to carry the report of the victory to the Parliamentary Government in London. There he proceeded, according to the report of Baillie, who had recently come to London as a representative of the Scottish ministers, to "trumpet all over the city their own praise to our prejudice, making all believe that Cromwell alone with his unspeakable valorous regiments had done all that service."

Here lay the rub. If on the one hand the victory of Marston Moor asserted the superiority of the Parliamentary army over the Royalists, it no less gave a position in the Parliamentary army to the Independents and the Baptists, men filled with a passionate desire to set up the kingdom of God upon earth, to govern the nation of England by a divine law, and to spread the knowledge of God's power in the army. Small though their numbers were, the

Independents now appeared as the really important champions on the side of the Puritans. What could be refused to men who had hazarded their lives with such triumphant success in support of the Parliament? Who could suggest that generals, officers, and men of independent ways of thinking should be expelled from the army which they alone had rendered effective? As the eloquent Major of Horse, Thomas Harrison, went about conversing and speaking in the cities of London and Westminster, he took good care to leave the impression on men's minds that only through the daring and skill of Cromwell and his Ironsides, had the victory of Marston Moor been won. Surely, they said, God is using them as the manifest instrument in His hand for the destruction of the godless cavaliers.

But to the mind of Baillie this visit of Harrison to London began to grow and swell into a most terrible nightmare, overwhelming all his hopes. It became even more deadly than the dreadful advance of Rupert himself had been. For weeks he had been anxiously looking towards the north, eager for decisive news, for it had seemed to him and his friends as if this army of Newcastle joined to the army of Rupert would be more than likely to force its way through the associated eastern counties and attack London from the north, while the other armies of the King advanced from other sides. And they had pictured to themselves that this army of Rupert's was in reality a Roman Catholic army, full of men who had been long persecuted for their religion, and who now with arms in their hands were seeking to annihilate the good Protestants of England even as their wild fellow-

believers in Ireland had destroyed the English settlers in 1641.

It was true enough that a considerable body of Rupert's following held the Roman Catholic faith, and that they held it with an intense devotion, as the literature of the time shows, to the old methods and services. But these men were fellow-Englishmen, and by no means the most disloyal or the most dangerous, or the most cruel of the horsemen of Rupert. Nay, there would be no difficulty to name far more disloyal and far more cruel men in the ranks of the Parliamentary army itself. Still this Roman Catholic nightmare had become very real in London, and the first feeling of Baillie as he received the news from Harrison was one of intense relief, full of thanksgiving to God for the great deliverance. But day by day as Harrison continued to preach and to talk, the fear of the sectaries, as Baillie called them, grew stronger and stronger in his heart. This was not what he had prayed for and hoped for, this triumphant success of the Independents and Baptists on the field of Marston Moor. Some time before he had been afraid that the Scots would have no share in the battle, and he had greatly rejoiced when the three armies of Leven, Manchester and Fairfax were combined in the siege of York, and the Presbyterian element had thus grown very preponderant in the ranks of the united forces. And with that strong self-confidence which distinguished and distinguishes the Scots, he had felt sure that the honours of the day would fall to them. Now, the report was come how Leven had fled from the field, how Manchester had become a fugitive, and how the followers of Fairfax

had been scattered to the winds. The troops, according to Harrison, who had stood their ground till the victory was won had been almost entirely men of the Independent persuasion. And this brings us face to face with the great line of cleavage in religious thought which, like some mighty chasm rent in the surface of the earth, separated by a deep gulf the two parties of differing opinions who were the chief supporters of the Parliament.

Baillie was well aware how unwillingly the Independent members of the English Parliament had agreed to call in the Scots in the autumn of 1643; for months they had argued that if they asked aid from the Scots, the old enemy of England, the very act would justify Charles in bringing forces of Danes and Frenchmen to his support; and worse still, the Scots were sure to insist upon the setting up of a Presbyterian organisation in England, far heavier in its burden than the broken yoke of Laud and his Bishops. It had only been a council of desperation, Baillie knew, which had sent Vane and his colleagues in September 1643 to Edinburgh to entreat the Scottish Parliament to dispatch a large army into England, to restore the fainting hopes of the Parliamentary party, beaten in the north and in the south by the superior prowess of the followers of the King. And even in that deputation, who came prepared to make any sacrifice to obtain the necessary help from the Scots, he recollected what he had felt, he and his fellow ministers, at the first sermon from the famous Independent preacher, the Rev. Philip Nye in the Grey Friars' Church at Edinburgh. "His voice," Baillie says, "was clamorous; he touched neither in

prayer nor in preaching the common businesse, he read much out of his prayer book. All his sermon was on the common head of a spiritual life, wherein he ran out above all our understandings, upon a knowledge of God as God without the Scripture, without Grace, without Christ."

It was just this same confidence and personal knowledge of Christ, which made the men of Cromwell's regiments despise and disregard the dogmas of the Established Church, and lay a claim almost to an equality with the inspired pages of Scripture itself, a claim now loudly asserted by the voice of Harrison. Harrison was in no limited sense an Independent. Though he preferred the Independent form of Church government to the Episcopal or Presbyterian, he believed in no external Church government whatsoever; he believed in the absolutely free conviction of each individual heart. Baxter complains that he was unwilling to enter into controversy on the doctrine which he professed. Why should he? For Harrison was absolutely sure that he listened himself personally to the Holy Spirit of Christ, and that what he believed was taught him directly from Heaven. He was so full of great ideas, the Fifth Monarchy, the reign of Christ upon earth; a kingdom which should be governed exclusively by the saints, and in which men who did not hear the Voice of God should have no share in the government; a nation absolutely righteous, a nation which should conquer the earth, and force all its fellow-nations to obey the dictates of its victorious citizens. Was it likely, was it possible, that a man of such ideas should allow himself to be bound down within the strict limits of a stern Presbyterianism? And it was to establish

Presbyterianism in England that Baillie and his colleagues, ministers and laymen alike, were come to London.

Now, just when the Presbyterians seemed to be having their own way in the army, and to have become enormously preponderant in most of the forces, came this fresh power to be reckoned with, which Harrison represented. It was evident already, that the Independents intended to support their right to govern with the power of the sword, and every victory won by the Independents would be a defeat for Presbyterianism. Thus the victory of Marston Moor loomed threateningly with great war clouds of conquering Independents, and seemed to endanger the settlement of Presbyterianism in England.

However, as the days went on, and fuller tidings came from the camp before York, other voices and other descriptions of the battle began to take their place, side by side with the story which Harrison had told. The more impartial men began to see that the Scots had fought well, and had had their share in the victory. David Leslie and his body of Scottish cavalry had certainly played an important part in the rout of Prince Rupert; and some Scottish infantry regiments had behaved with great courage, and had never been driven from the field; while certain of the Presbyterian officers who were present, even asserted that Cromwell himself was flying from the field when Leslie came to his assistance. And the heart of Baillie was soothed and comforted, and the hearts of his fellow-Presbyterians, as the opinion grew up again that Marston Moor was a Presbyterian victory after all in which the Independents had played a subordinate part.

In fact, in these varying accounts of the murderous struggle, each narrator spoke according to his own experience, for in a complicated battle of that description no one man sees the whole series of events, which decide the victory. It was, however, enough that the leaders of the Independents, Cromwell and Harrison and Ireton, were in great peril, when David Leslie made his flank charge. None the less was it certain that it was the Ironsides, as Rupert himself testifies, who had carried through the two following charges, in which Goring had been overwhelmed and the infantry of Newcastle annihilated.

The consequence of this variation in the accounts was to divide more and more the two great parties in London. Henceforward, the struggle between the enthusiasm of which Harrison was so true a type, and that strict and sensible Presbyterianism which was the fashion in London, would be more apparent than ever. What the feelings of the two sides were will be best shown, by a few extracts from Baillie's Series of constant Letters to his friends.

"Our Presbyterie will shortly follow. The Independents are resolved to give in their reasons against us, and that shall be the beginning of an open schism. Lyklie after that, we will be forced to deal with them as open enemies. They have been most unhappie instruments. The principall, if not the sole causes, why the parliament were so long in calling an assembly, and when it was called, why nothing in a whole year could possibly be concluded. In the meantime, they, over all the land, are making up a faction to their own way, the far most part there is fallen off to Anabaptism, and Antinomianism. Sundrie also to

worse, if worse needs be; the mortalitie of the soule, the deniall of angels and devils, and cast off all sacraments, and many blasphemous things. All these are from New England, where divers are in irons for their blasphemies, condemned to perpetual slaverie, and well near by a few votes, it went for the life. They proclaim their fears for the Presbyteries rigours. Possiblie they are conscious of their unsufferable tenets, and certainly they know their own rigour against the Presbyterians; in all New England, no liberty of living for a Presbyterian. Whoever there, were they angels for life and doctrine, will assay to set up a diverse way from them, shall be sure of present banishment."

"Our Independents continue and increase in their obstinacie. Much is added to their pride and hopes by their service at the battle of York. Albeit much of their valour is grounded on very false lies, prejudicial to God, the Author, and to us, the true instruments of that day's honour."

"The Sectaries of divers sorts, Anabaptists chiefly, increase here. Very many are for total liberty of all religions, and write very plausible treatises for that end. Sundry of the Independent party are stepped out of the Church, and follow my good acquaintance, Mr Roger Williams; who says there is no church, no sacrements, no pastors, no church offices, or ordinances in the world, nor has been since a few years after the Apostles. If our Commissioners were once come up, we mind to put them a little harder to it, and see what they understand by their uniformitie, which they have sworn to us. We can make no certain conclusion, but that we believe

God will work His own gracious ends by man's weakness."

"At our sitting down this day, a great many of our brethren did complain of the great increase and insolencie, in divers places, of the Antinomian and Anabaptisticall conventicles. A Committee was appointed for a remedie of this evil, to be represented quickly to the Parliament. Mr Edwards has written a splendid confutation of all Independents' apologies. All the Ministers of London, at least more than a hundred of them, have agreed to erect a weeklie lecture for him in Christ's Church, the heart of the City, where he may handle these questions, and nothing else, before all that will come to hear. We hope God will provide remeeds for that evil of Independency, the mother and true fountain of all the Church distractions here."

Thus Presbyterians and Independents came to be divided further and further in their opinions and objects; and two highly organised parties stood ready to do battle with one another directly their union had beaten down the King. Of one of these two parties, described by their opponents as the Sectaries, Harrison, by wounds given and taken at Marston Moor, and by his quick readiness of speech in London, had won his way to a place in the leadership.

Chapter III

The New Model Army

1645-1647

Harrison's position in the Army—Conflict between the Independents and Presbyterians—Disputes in the Westminster Assembly—Baxter's review of the situation—The successes of the King in 1644—The great noblemen removed from the Parliamentary Army—The New Model—Skippon and Fairfax—Baxter's description of the New Model—The campaign of Naseby—The battle of Langport—Harrison M.P. for Wendover—His marriage—Completeness of the victory.

MAJOR HARRISON was now a person of importance in the country. He was a chief in the councils of the Independent party, was one of those in whom Cromwell specially trusted, and he was a man who could be commissioned to undertake any dangerous errand for the success of his cause. As we have seen, in outward appearance Harrison was no Puritan ; we note him in the prints of the times with long love-locks over his shoulders like any cavalier, while other contemporary writers speak of his fondness for fine dress and handsome uniforms. The life of a soldier was very attractive to him, and he loved the danger and excitement of a headlong cavalry charge. At certain moments he exhibited a strange cruelty which brought him into some disgrace. But other men who knew him show us the true gentleness of the man, and his

desire to be kind to all with whom he might be brought into contact of whatever class. He had a sense that he was an instrument in the hands of God, and was confident that he had special revelations from the Spirit. It seems as if he was kept in the rank of Major for some time in order that not having too definite a command he might be available to lead the forlorn hope either in politics or in battle; and he was destined as years went on to higher and higher employment.

Meanwhile the strife between Independents and Presbyterians became more acute. The Presbyterians, who were at this time in the majority in the Parliament and in the Government, felt that the Independents were trying to drag the nation down into a quagmire of false doctrine, into an inextricable labyrinth of local church governments, and a slough of exaggerated religious practices, which could only destroy the beauty of the somewhat narrow but earnest religion, which was in vogue amongst the Scots and their English allies.

Baillie, now taking his part in the Westminster Assembly of Divines, writes of the Independents at this time, "This day before noone we got sundrie propositions of our directory for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper passed, but in the afternoone we could not move one inch. The unhappy Independents would mangle that Sacrament. No catechising or preparation before, no thanksgiving after: no sacramental doctrine nor chapters in the day of celebration; no coming to any table; but a carrying of the elements to all in their seats about the church; yet all this, with God's help, we have carried over their

bellies to our practice. But exhortation at tables yet we stick at; they would have no words at all. Nay, would be at covering the head of the receiving. We must dispute every inch of our ground; great need have we of the prayers of all God's people. At a meeting we found, they had passed by all the doctrinal part of Ordination, and all our scriptural grounds for it; that they had chosen only the extraordinarie way of Ordination, and in that very part had scraped out what ever might displease the Independents or patrons, or Selden and others, who will have no discipline at all in any church Jure Divino, but settled only upon the free will and pleasure of Parliament."

On the other hand men began to feel more and more that the true signs of God's presence and support were given to the Independents; and both in the army and in the Parliament the power of this section constantly increased.

Baxter describes this in the following terms, "But the chief cause was, that Sir H. Vane by this time had increased sectaries in the House, having drawn some leaders to his opinion; and Cromwell who was the Earl of Manchester's Lieutenant General, had gathered to him as many of the religious party, especially of the sectaries as he could get; and kept a correspondency with Vane's party in the House, as if it were only to strengthen the religious party: and Manchester's army, especially Cromwell's party, had won a victory near Horncastle in Lincolnshire, and had done the main service of the day at the great fight at York; and everywhere the religious party that were deepliest apprehensive of the concernment of

the war, had far better success than the other sort of common soldiers. These things set together, caused almost all the religious sort of men in Parliament, armies, garrisons, and country, to be for the new modelling of the army, and putting out the looser sort of men (specially officers) and putting religious men in their steads. But in all this work, the Vanists in the House, and Cromwell in the army, joined together, outwitted and over-reached the rest, and carried on the interest of the sectaries in special, while they drew the religious party along as for the interest of godliness in general."

He goes on to rehearse the reasons for which the more strict Presbyterians had separated from the Independents.

"Upon this I began to blame both other ministers and myself. I saw that it was the ministers that had lost all, by forsaking the army, and betaking themselves to an easier and quieter way of life. When the Earl of Essex went at first, each regiment had an able preacher, but at Edghill fight, almost all of them went home, and as the sectaries increased, they were the more averse to go into the army. Its true, that I believe they now have little invitation, and its true that they must look for little welcome and great contempt and opposition, besides all other difficulties and dangers—but it is as true, that their worth and labour in a patient self denying way, had been like to have preserved most of the army, and to have defeated the contrivances of the sectaries, and to have saved the King, the Parliament, and the land. And if it had brought reproach upon them from the malicious (who called them military Levites) the good which they

had done would have wiped off that blot much better than the ordinary course would do.

"And I reprehended myself also, who had before rejected an invitation from Cromwell; when he lay at Cambridge long before with that famous troop which he began his army with, his officers purposed to make their troop a gathered church, and they all subscribed an invitation to me to be their pastor, and sent it me at Coventry. I sent them a deniall, reproving their attempt, and told them wherein my judgement was against the lawfulness and convenience of their way, and so I heard no more from them; and afterward meeting Cromwell at Leicester he expostulated with me for denying them. These very men that then invited me to be their pastor, were the men that afterwards headed much of the army, and some of them were the forwardest in all our changes; which made me wish that I had gone among them, however it had been interpreted; for then all the fire was in one spark."

Such were Baxter's views on the causes of the growing opposition between the Presbyterians and Independents. Each section hoped and expected that it would become predominant. The Independents had high hopes of great consequences from the battle of Marston Moor. The Scots also expected a series of easy victories over the Royalists in the north of England. But these expectations were frustrated by the action of some of the parliamentary commanders.

The King had carried through a campaign in the south which almost rivalled the success of the Puritans in the north; he had defeated Sir William Waller,

one of the parliamentary generals; and he had compelled the infantry of Essex, the commander-in-chief, to surrender in Cornwall. And Prince Rupert still maintained the Royalist cause on the borders of Wales. In the meanwhile the Scottish generals showed great incapacity in the siege of Newcastle, and Manchester lay almost motionless on the frontiers of the eastern counties.

The truth was that the larger part of each army, being raised locally, could never be persuaded to march very far from a position where they could swiftly come to the defence of their own homes. It was this local character of the armies which made any long consecutive efforts impossible. And this was now so apparent to Oliver Cromwell that he was fast coming to the conclusion that the only way of ending the war was to eject the sluggish noblemen from their places as leaders of the army, and to create a strong force properly paid and properly disciplined, which would be prepared to march whithersoever it was sent. Essex, Manchester, Denbigh and the rest must disappear, he was convinced, before a final victory could be achieved. He told Manchester, head of the great aristocratic House of Montague, to his face, that there could be no good time till he was plain Mr Montague. Then a new set of generals could be appointed, who would lead an army, freed from all local connections, to fight the King's forces wherever they might be found. To effect this purpose, he, in conjunction with Vane and other Independents in the House of Commons, moved two new ordinances; one called "the self-denying ordinance," finally carried on April 3rd, 1645, by over-riding the voting of the

peers; the other, the ordinance for the New Model Army, which was settled with the full concurrence of the peers in the month of February of the same year. The necessity for these changes had been made finally obvious on the field of the second battle of Newbury, fought on October 27th, 1644; for the King had then been attacked by a concentration of all the parliamentary forces, who outnumbered him by at least two to one: and though the attack had succeeded at first, it had all come to nothing through the hesitation of Manchester who had given no support to the vigorous onslaught of Waller and of Cromwell. It was therefore evident that new chiefs must now be found to take the place of the great nobles; and it was decided to divide the principal commands in the New Model Army between the Presbyterians and the Independents. Major-General Skippon, a stout old veteran of long military experience, was appointed major-general, or more exactly speaking sergeant-major-general; and thus held the third post among the new generals. For the moment the post of lieutenant-general was not filled up, since the friends of Cromwell could not venture to propose his nomination contrary to the express decision of the self-denying ordinance, which prohibited any member of either House of Parliament from holding office in the Army. Secretly they had resolved that that post, which included the command of the horse, should be reserved for the victor of Winceby and Marston Moor. For how could the New Model Army, framed on his principles and organised by his advice, be complete without the master mind which created it?

Naturally the chief command was decided by a

compromise. Sir Thomas Fairfax had been from the beginning of the war a strong supporter of the Parliamentary Government. He was brave, and was immensely popular. His career as an officer had been strangely chequered; at one moment he was freeing the great manufacturing towns in the West Riding of Yorkshire from Royalist garrisons; at another he was destroying a number of Irish regiments brought over to help the King; at yet another he was fighting Newcastle, who with his overwhelming force, had shut him up within the fortress of Hull. He was thus distinguished enough to be acceptable as commander-in-chief, and yet showed a record which could by no means be compared with the uniformly victorious record of Oliver Cromwell. Daring in battle, he never showed any strong resolve of purpose in Council; and the great Independent leaders both in Parliament and in the army felt confident that they could mould him to their will.

By April, the old commanders had surrendered their commissions; and Fairfax with the assistance of Skippon was drilling 21,000 soldiers of the New Model Army. No resistance had been offered to these far-reaching changes; Essex retired to smoke his beloved pipe of tobacco and left the field open to men of greater talents. By the 10th of June a necessity could be urged for the immediate appointment of a lieutenant-general to command the horse, and at the special request of Fairfax, and by permission of the House of Commons, Oliver Cromwell was placed for the time in that office. Nor must we forget that in Fleetwood's regiment of cavalry Major Harrison still retained his command. There he was

soon to prove himself a thorough exponent of the new spirit which the new army was intended to embody. That army contained a number of religious enthusiasts, who none the less were but a small proportion of the whole force—which was largely composed of men willing to serve for the sake of the liberal pay, or pressed into the ranks by the use of influence or even compulsion.

Baxter thus describes the New Model, so different indeed from what he had expected, when he visited it immediately after its first victory. "Naseby being not far from Coventry where I was, and the noise of the victory being loud in our ears, I went two days after the fight to seek my acquaintance. When I found them, I stayed with them a night, and I understood the state of the army much better than ever I had done before. We that lived quietly in Coventry did keep to our old principles, and thought all others had done so too, except a very few inconsiderable persons. We were unfeignedly for King, Nation and Parliament; we believed that the war was only to save the Parliament and kingdom from papists and delinquents, and to remove the divisions, that the King might return again to his Parliament, and that no changes might be made in religion, but by the laws which had his free consent; we took the true happiness of King and People and Church and State, to be our end, and so we understood the Covenant, engaging both against papists and schismatics; and when the Court news book told the world of the swarms of Anabaptists in our armies, we thought it had been a mere lye, because it was not so with us, nor in any of the garrison or country forces about us. But when I came to the

army among Cromwell's soldiers, I found a new state of things, which I never dreamt of; I heard the plotting heads very hot upon that which intimated their intention to subvert both Church and State. Independency and Anabaptistry were most prevalent. Abundance of the common troopers, and many of the officers, I found to be honest, sober, orthodox men, and others tractable, ready to hear the truth, and of upright intentions; but a few proud, self-conceited, hot-headed sectaries had got into the highest places, and were Cromwell's chief favourites, and by their very heat and activity bore down the rest, or carried them along with them, and were the soul of the army, though much fewer in number than the rest (being indeed not one to twenty throughout the army; their strength being in the General's and Waller's and Rich's regiment of horse, and in the new placed officers in many of the rest). I perceived that they took the King for a tyrant and an enemy, and really intended absolutely to master him, or to ruin him; and that they thought, that if they might fight against him, they might kill or conquer him; and if they might conquer they were never more to trust him further than he was in their power; and that they thought it folly to irritate him either by wars or contradictions in Parliament, if so be they must needs take him for their King, and trust him with their lives when they had thus displeased him. They said, what were the lords of England but William the Conqueror's colonels, or the barons but his majors, or the knights but his captains? They plainly showed me that they thought God's providence would cast the trust of religion and the king upon them as conquerors.

They made nothing of all the most wise and godlie in the armies and garrisons that were not of their way. *Per fas aut nefas*, by law or without it, they were resolved to take down, not only bishops and liturgy and ceremonies, but all that did withstand their way. They were far from thinking of a moderate Episcopacy, or of any healing up between the Episcopals and the Presbyterians; they most honoured the Separatists, Anabaptists, and Antinomians; but Cromwell and his council took on themselves to join no party, but to be for the liberty of all. Two sorts I perceived they did so commonly and bitterly speak against, that it was done in mere design to make them odious to the soldiers, and to all the land; and that was,

"1st. The Scots, and with them all Presbyterians, but specially the ministers whom they called Priests and Presbyters, and Divines, and the 'Dissembly men' and such like.

"2nd. The Committees of the several counties, and all the bodies that were under them that were not of their mind and way."

Leading the New Model Army, Fairfax, in the late spring of 1645, started forth from Windsor, with the intention of bringing the king's army to a decisive action. The king's army was nothing loth to meet him; the veteran troops that followed Prince Rupert were confident that they would scatter to the winds these new forces composed of such varying and strange elements. The quarrels between the Presbyterians and the Independents, which had assumed such definite shape in the last months and had produced the self-denying ordinance, seemed in themselves to

promise that no parliamentary force would be able so thoroughly to unite all its members as to be capable of fight. It was believed by the Royalists that some of the Puritan officers and soldiers were full of bitter regret at the removal of Essex, and that Cromwell was detested by the followers of the generals who had held command earlier in the war.

Leaving Leicester in June 1645, the King was marching southward when he was informed of the approach of Fairfax and the Puritan army, who had broken up from the siege of Oxford directly they heard that he had assembled a large force in the Midlands. Major Thomas Harrison was deputed by the commander-in-chief to go forward towards Daventry to get information. He was supported in his reconnoitring by a strong force led by Colonel Ireton, who as commissary-general of the horse had command of that branch of Fairfax's army till the arrival of Oliver Cromwell on June 13th. The story is told locally of how on an evening while the forces were advancing, a detachment of Puritan cavalry headed perhaps by Harrison, rode through the narrow streets of Naseby village; and how one of the Naseby boys slipped away from his companions and started to run across the road a few feet distance; and how the officer in command had stooped from his saddle as he rode past him, and had saved the boy's life by flinging him over the wall into the churchyard; a story which helps us to realise the ready gentleness in moments of peace of that terrible Ironside cavalry which seemed so pitiless in the day of fight. Harrison discovered the whereabouts of the King's army, and Fairfax and his officers prepared for battle on the morrow.

The fight of Naseby fought on the 14th of June 1645, like the battle of Marston Moor was decided by the number and effectiveness of the cavalry. Rupert on the right wing of the Royalists swept Ireton, who commanded the left wing of the parliamentary army out of the field ; but his troops were demoralised by the fire of a large force of dragoons (as mounted infantry were then called), who had been skilfully posted behind a long line of hedges, running at right angles to the front of the parliamentary army. The victorious Royalists galloped round to the rear of the parliamentarians, intent rather on the plunder and slaughter of their enemies than on watching the issue of the day. They even allowed Ireton, for a short time a prisoner, to escape and again form his troops for battle. Meanwhile Cromwell at the head of the Ironsides had charged Sir Marmaduke Langdale and the Royalist left wing, and thoroughly routed him. Directly Langdale's force was broken, Cromwell dispatched a certain number of men to hurry their flight ; reformed his own cavalry ; and wheeled round upon the Royalist infantry. As they were unprotected by their own cavalry of the right wing, and even assailed by some of the parliamentarians who had been defeated on that side, they were speedily broken, and most of them were made prisoners with all the guns.

In the next few weeks the forces of Goring and of Hopton were annihilated in the west of England. Harrison was present throughout the campaign, and highly distinguished himself. He was full of enthusiasm. In a critical moment of the fight of Langport, on July 10th, near Bridgewater, where Goring was defeated,

Harrison, as he witnessed the special daring of the charge of his own cavalry, was heard by Baxter "with a loud voice breaking forth into the praise of God with fluent expression, as though he had been in a rapture." So entirely did he associate the Puritan victories with the divine work for the establishment of the Kingdom of the Saints.

After this great victory of Langport in the west, Harrison was once more chosen to carry the news to the Government in London. The commander-in-chief evidently trusted the eloquence with which the success of his army would be described by the famous major of horse; and Oliver Cromwell felt that the Independents would once more gain the praise of the victory, and that London with all its Presbyterian leanings would be compelled to recognise the prowess of the Ironsides. Harrison soon rejoined the Army, and was with Cromwell for the rest of the campaign. He took his part in the storming of Basing House, a famous Royalist stronghold in Hampshire. There Hugh Peters describes his daring, and speaks of him as "that godly and gallant gentleman." In the storming he killed with his own hand a famous Royalist champion named Major Cuff, and also Robinson the actor. Robinson, the cavaliers declared, he slew in cold blood after he had surrendered, with the savage words, "Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord negligently." This report was widely believed, and these words sank deep into the hearts of many Royalists, who henceforth regarded Harrison as a demon of savage cruelty.

When Oxford, the last great Royalist fortress, surrendered in 1646, by the command of the King,

Harrison was one of the officers appointed to negotiate the capitulation.

Shortly afterwards he became Member of Parliament for Wendover, and his name is found in the journals as sitting in the House in December 1646: a large number of new members was elected at the same time. The House of Commons elected in 1640 had lost so great a proportion of its members that its divisions were now counted by tens rather than by hundreds; and the leaders of the Government felt the necessity of giving some colour to the claim that the Commons represented the people by gradually filling up the vacant seats. The election of Harrison is one more proof of the importance of the part he played, and doubtless was due to the fact that he added another capable orator to the ranks of the Independent party. Here in the House of Commons, as elsewhere in the Army, he stands out henceforth as one of the chief actors in the two great theatres of administration and of war.

In the same year Harrison married Katherine, daughter of Ralph Harrison, a distinguished officer in the London train-bands, and a man of importance in the City. He was a woollen draper in Watling Street, and a strong Independent, and his name occurs not infrequently in the State papers of the time.

The war was now at an end. The Royal army had been destroyed. The fortresses had been surrendered. The New Model Army set itself forward as the representative champion of the will of Providence. Its only possible rival was the Scottish army in the north, but these troops were miserably supplied and wretchedly

recruited. They had plundered and misgoverned the northern counties for the two last years, and were detested by the people. Their only solid claim to importance was their custody of the King's person; for Charles despairing of further resistance, had surrendered to them at Newark.

Chapter IV

The Quarrel between the Army and the Parliament

1647

Parties in the country, and their resources—Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians—Divisions in the House of Commons—Presbyterians, Independents and Lawyers—Erastianism of the Lawyers—Harrison in the Commons votes with the minority—A command for Harrison in Ireland—Proposed Independent Settlement in Ireland—Question of dissolving the New Model Army—Claims for an act of oblivion and for the payment of arrears—The Council of the Army—Grandees and Agitators—Harrison prominent in the discussions—The House of Commons attempts resistance—The army seizes on the artillery and on the King—Advance to London—Riot of the apprentices—Triumphant march of Fairfax through London.

ENGLAND lay prostrate at the feet of the conquerors. How seriously these men took their position, and how great were their expectations for the future, we have already seen admirably depicted in the reminiscences of Richard Baxter. Wise men could see that there was no power in the land which had the smallest chance of success in opposing the New Model Army. Its forces were well disciplined; its leaders were remarkably capable; its cavalry was superb, excelling by the confession of Prince Rupert the best trained regiments of its rival; it had broken up all the Royalist

forces, and mastered every fortress in the country. But it represented the minority among the English people, and many of its opponents still flattered themselves that the majority would be able to collect such forces, and to organise so large a body of troops, as would overwhelm the regiments which followed Fairfax and Cromwell. Let us examine these various groups of opinion in the country which the more sanguine opposers of the New Model Army hoped to be able to frame into a mighty engine for resistance.

The King, that imposing figure in the organisation of the State, who was the recognised leader of the nation, had long for 150 years been absolutely dominant, because he had been able to crush out the power of the great nobles and their supporters among the country gentry and merchants, while at the same time he had drawn into his own hands the political and social influence of the Church. Controlling the forces of religious and of civil authority, he had come to be regarded as a sacred person and as governor by divine right. But now he was a helpless prisoner at the mercy of his enemies. The great bulk of the people still looked up to him as their natural leader, and they were supported by a large part of the gentry and nobles, who had been long accustomed to find an increase of their dignity, in magnifying the dignity of the Crown.

Two great schools of religious thought, the educated Anglican clergy and laity on the one side, and on the other the eager mystical teachers and the devout laity of the Roman Catholics ranged themselves in support of the throne. And both of these bodies had a great vitality of spiritual life: the one mainly derived from the Continent, as we see in the exquisite poems of Crashaw ;

the other intensely English, which found voice in the poems of Herbert and Donne. But though they looked up to the King as representing everything for which they cared in politics, the terrible fights of Marston Moor and Naseby had left them prostrate under the hoofs of the Ironside cavalry.

The Roman Catholics could only await with dread a new period of bitter oppression, and once more saw their priests, who for thirty years had been untroubled, executed with every barbarous formality at Tyburn. And they knew that at any moment a fresh fiscal persecution might break out, and they might be deprived of all their property; since there was nothing easier at this time for men of ready speech like Harrison than to excite recollections of the rebellion in Ireland, and to frighten the people into a terror-stricken panic which would end in the ruin of their Roman Catholic fellow countrymen.

The Anglican party too was in no state for resistance; it might be willing to share martyrdom with the King, but it could do nothing to protect him; its leaders were either dead, or imprisoned, or in exile, and their principal followers were crippled by enormous fines. Though it numbered among its adherents a large majority of the common people, these had no share in the choice of members of Parliament, and had no means of making their voice heard in the government of the country. Therefore neither Anglicans nor Roman Catholics could move to influence the decision which had to be taken as to how the government was to be carried on.

But the great Presbyterian party appeared to many sanguine persons as still capable of doing battle even

against the Ironsides themselves. The leaders of the House of Commons still held up the Presbyterian influence; and this party, with its thousands of preaching ministers and its wealthy supporters in the city of London, presented the appearance of some great battlemented and betowered citadel which could defy all its enemies. Men did not realise how it had been undermined by reverses during the last three years, and by the constant diligence of the Independent party both in the Parliament and in the camp. They maintained that by the support of the Scottish army, and the assistance of the wealthy city of London, with its inexhaustible money bags and its steady train bands, the Presbyterians would be able to do battle, and to send into the field a larger number of practised soldiers than followed the banners of the Independent captains. But the Scottish army, consisting nominally of 11,000 men, was in miserable plight. Except Montrose, who was the dreaded enemy of the Presbyterian ministers, no first-rate leader had appeared in Scotland. The army was commanded by officers who had little sympathy with their men. Recruiting was more and more difficult. The regiments had become mere skeletons of their supposed strength, and fever and sickness had reduced the army to a very low condition. As for the London train bands, they had fought with success against the Royalist troops, but now they would have to face the stern resolution and highly disciplined manœuvres of the Cromwellian soldiers, who had come forth to do battle for the good cause, the cause of righteousness, the cause of free spiritual life, the cause of God Himself, as they firmly believed.

But the strongest element of all in the power of

the Presbyterians was the majority in the House of Commons. People might point out how utterly the 250 new members misrepresented the real feelings of their constituencies, or make sport of the small number who gave themselves to the work of the House of Commons, and whose names appeared on its division lists: eagerly demonstrating that no reasonable man could call this remnant by the sacred name of Parliament. For all that the name still existed, and the House of Lords and the House of Commons, abrogating for the time the rights of the Crown, still nominally passed laws and superintended administration. So far the Army had acknowledged their supremacy; would it dare to violate their august privileges, and force them to submit by the power of the sword?

Denzil Hollis and Sir Philip Stapylton, chiefs of the Presbyterian party in the House of Commons, were able to command a majority except on one point. They could carry any motion in the direction of peace, and to keep the Army in subordination; but when it came to a trial of strength between them and the Independents as to whether Scottish Presbyterianism was to be introduced, with its Ministers and its Lay Elders, its Classical Assemblies and its National Assembly, its power to excommunicate, and its complete control of religion, more far-reaching than the control of the bishops in old days over the spiritual and moral life of the people,—then they found themselves more and more often out-voted by the large number of lawyers in the House who followed the lead of Selden, Maynard, and Whitelocke.

These notable lawyers and their allies believed

that the primary object of the defeat of the King, and the destruction of Laud, lay in the determination of Englishmen that ecclesiastical power should always be subject to secular power; and they carried this out in practice by determinedly voting together with the Independents, and by adding a clause to the new scheme of religious establishment which had been adopted by the Westminster Assembly; a clause which would make the Parliament, and not the Assembly, the final judge which decided for or against the excommunication of any individual person.

To the Presbyterian ministers this Erastian idea of the control of the temporal government was absolutely unendurable; and Baillie speaks of this determination of the majority of the Commons to set up lay committees everywhere which should control the Church Assembly, as "godless and detestable." Thus, even the House of Commons, which seemed such a firm supporter of Presbyterianism, could hardly be trusted in the hour of danger, when Harrison took his seat in the closing months of 1646. The King was in the hands of the Scots, a prisoner; the Anglicans and Roman Catholics were reduced to subjection; while the House of Commons, mainly Presbyterian, seemed to have renewed its youth by the great number of elections which had recently been held.

On the 10th of December 1646, Major Harrison was placed on the Committee appointed for dealing with the arrears of the pay of the army, since it was evident that something must be done with these arrears before the regiments could be disbanded. The New Model was hated and dreaded by the population of the city, and it returned this feeling of hatred with interest, to such

an extent, that one of the leading members of the Independent party was accused of having said publicly that "it is fit that these mechanics should be quelled, and that the army should be brought up to that purpose." The threat was alarming enough considering its source, but the Presbyterian leaders went on their way, confident in the name of Parliament. How strong their party was in the House is shown by the following resolution carried in the Commons on December 31st, 1646:—Resolved, "That this House shall declare that they dislike and will proceed against all such persons as shall take upon them to preach or expound the Scriptures in any church or chapel, or any other public place, except they be ordained either here or in any other reformed Church, as it is already prohibited in an order of both Houses, . . . and likewise against all such ministers or others as shall publish and maintain by preaching, writing, or in any other way anything that is against or in derogation of the Church Government which is now established by the authority of both Houses of Parliament, and also against all and every person or persons who shall willingly and purposely interrupt a preacher who is in the public exercise of his function."

Such a resolution attacked the very heart of Independency; but for the present nothing could be done in the Commons, and Harrison was not long content to sit on the benches of the House voting as one of the minority against the establishment of Presbyterianism, or doubtingly supporting large gifts of money bestowed as rewards upon the leading members of Parliament.

An opportunity now came to him for active occupa-

tion. The new Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Lisle, son of the Earl of Leicester, required a distinguished cavalry officer to direct military matters in his new province; the post was proposed to Harrison, who willingly accepted it, for there was much to draw a man of his character to Ireland.

The massacre of 1641, black enough in actual fact, made twenty times more hideous by the exaggerated language in which it was described by the Protestants, still called for vengeance. The Parliamentary party had always put the reconquest of Ireland forward as one of the conditions of peace which they intended to force upon the King; and there had been a proposal made some months earlier by the leading Independents to King Charles, that the Independent congregations should be tolerated in England with a restored Episcopacy, while in Ireland Independency itself should be made the established form of religion. As for the Roman Catholics, no one counted them as having any rights to liberty or toleration at all.

It would seem that the plan was to send over a large part of the Army under its chiefs to Ireland, that they should there with fire and sword punish the rebels of 1641, and establish the Independent system of worship and the Independent system of government side by side. Probably men like Harrison with their earnest dream of Christ's Kingdom upon earth, proposed to use Ireland as the fulcrum with which to move the sister country of England; and Harrison, at all events, would never have been satisfied until he had established the Kingdom of Christ in his own country as well as across the Channel of St George. Accordingly in February 1647 he set sail for Dublin

with the new Viceroy, but a very few weeks' sojourn showed him how impossible it was to effect anything substantial in Ireland, before the great question in dispute between the Parliament and army had been settled in England. In Ireland while the King had still some followers, and the Roman Catholics were still very powerful, and the Scottish Presbyterians were strong in the North, only a few Independent noblemen waged war in the name of the English Parliament. There were no forces to command, and no fortresses to hold. Ireland was and must remain in a state of anarchy until the mighty New Model Army had time to set to work and reconquer it. Four years were still to elapse before punishment descended on the rebel Irish.

But there was another cause for Harrison's return, in a movement which now began in the great army which he left behind. Though the Independents were the strongest party in that army, it would have been contrary to nature that all the soldiers should think deeply on any question, whether religious or political; and the General who had been so successful in the late war, Sir Thomas Fairfax, was himself inclined to obey Parliament without demur, and appeared to have no particular leaning either to Independency or Presbyterianism. But now a fresh danger and a special interest roused the great army with one heart and soul to reform the political government of England, and to bestow everywhere a broad toleration upon all the warring and jarring sects, with the exception always of the members of the Church of England and the followers of the Pope. The matters which were agitating the minds of the soldiers were

divers and important. It was inevitable that during the course of the Civil War there should have been many occasions on which soldiers and officers had broken the laws of the land. For this the army demanded a special law of indemnity and oblivion. And further, in the strain of raising money to pay the Scots to leave England, and to hand over to the Parliament the captive King, the arrears of pay to the army had become constantly heavier till they extended in many cases to forty and fifty weeks. In the army there was a natural feeling that the men could not return to their homes till the nation had paid the debt in full. They were not satisfied with the measures that Parliament took to settle these claims. A Bill of Indemnity was indeed passed, but its provisions appeared far too vague for the safety of the soldiers; while a body of commissioners came down from London with an offer that eight weeks' arrears be paid immediately, with a promise of discharging the remainder by instalments. This insignificant payment on account appeared to the troops to be insulting, and to open the way to great troubles in the future.

The Independents saw and used their opportunity. They persuaded the army to band itself together for its own preservation; they created a democratic assembly in which representatives of the rank and file of each regiment sat, under the name of agitators or adjutators, side by side with their officers—forming together the Council of the Army. Eloquent men passed from regiment to regiment, warning the soldiers to refuse to enlist in the new army of Ireland until these grievances had been redressed. On such an occasion

Harrison was indispensable. No man knew better how to appeal at once to the reason and to the sentiment of his listeners, or to sway the hearts of men to high and inspiring achievements. The deceitfulness of the leaders of the nation; the robbery of the unpaid arrears; the danger that no toleration would be allowed to "honest men": certainly these matters opened a large chance to the Army to reform society in England; and such themes stirred the soldiers to energetic action.

The Presbyterian majority of the House of Commons, led by Denzil Hollis, were confident that they could break up the Army. They proposed that, with the exception of one of their own nominees, no officer should serve in England with a higher grade than that of Colonel. Thus they would have excluded Cromwell, Ireton and others from all future military service. They hoped to break the Army in pieces by persuading as many as possible to volunteer for service in Ireland, under the command of Skippon and Massey, two generals they thought they could trust. But the moment their schemes were published the Army awoke like an angry lion that had been asleep. Every precaution was taken to keep the forces together; the train of artillery was secured by a detachment, in order to frustrate any attempt of the Parliament to seize it, and was brought to the camp at Saffron Walden in Essex. The King, who was at Holdenby not far from the army lines—apparently by the directions of Cromwell, and certainly with the full knowledge of the other Grandees of the army, of whom Harrison was one—was seized by Cornet Joyce at the head of another detachment, and brought

into the army lines. Finally Fairfax did not refuse to put himself at the head of the movement; his honour compelled him to stand by his soldiers. Cromwell left London in haste, and hurried down to the camp, and there the Council of the officers and agitators soon became in itself a new Parliament.

The new organisation exactly copied the organisation which sat at Westminster; Parliament was represented by the officers and agitators sitting in council; twelve Grandees, as they were called, officers of higher rank, taking the place of the Council of State.

Thus in June 1647, two rival Governments, one military, the other civil, confronted one another in England. Both the Parliament and the army in England claimed to speak in the name of the people; both alike declared they were defending the Word of God.

It seemed to the leaders of the House of Commons that they could create a new army which would be strong enough to face the victorious army of the Civil War. London swarmed with officers and men who had been employed in the forces before the New Model was created, and had then lost their employment. These were now eagerly expecting the payment of their arrears. Surely out of this number of men, Reformadoes as they were called, a new force could be brought into existence which would understand the art of war. Waller and Massey and others of their own number who had distinguished themselves as generals in the long years of fighting, might be placed at its head, and with the assistance of the train bands of London would offer successful opposition behind the fortifications of the capital, even to

the well drilled regiments of Fairfax and Cromwell. Further than this, there were quartered at Worcester a considerable body of troops who had volunteered, in spite of the leading officers and agitators, for the war in Ireland. These men were fast being formed into regiments, and could soon come up to support the forces of the Parliament. And further, one army at least was still in existence which had never belonged to the New Model, and owed doubtful allegiance to Fairfax. This was the Northern army under Pointz, who, himself a pronounced Presbyterian, was certain to take the Parliamentary side in any struggle against the Independents. And behind all these forces so great in number, though so inferior in organisation, was the Scottish army under General David Leslie, which had now crushed the last effort of Montrose and his party, and was negotiating to come to the assistance of the Parliament with a force which more than once had turned the scale in the wars.

On the other hand, the army of Fairfax and Cromwell lay within a few days' march of the capital; and now that the spirit of dispute and debate had begun to sway men's hearts, this army became clamorous for the payment of its own arrears, and also for a more satisfactory settlement of government in England. As they talked and discussed round the camp fires, it seemed to them more and more illogical that a few score members of the House of Commons, elected for the most part seven years ago, should claim the right to speak for the people; and the ideal of the people being governed in its own interest, being governed according to its own ideas, being governed to achieve for itself great

purposes, rose before them more and more distinctly as the grand hope of the future. Two parties combined in the ranks of the Army to oppose the existing government. The one, headed by Rainsborough and Harrison, insisted that the government of the nation belonged only to the Saints. The other, headed by Ireton and Cromwell himself, was intent on obtaining the best possible representation of a great and powerful people, who, so far, had had but a small part in settling its own affairs.

As the Army marched south it determined to come to blows with its rivals before they could gather together their forces from other quarters. The principal officers drew up a remonstrance in which they published the conclusions to which they had now advanced. They claimed their right to speak because of the conditions under which they had enlisted, and as themselves having all the rights of Englishmen.

"We desire," they said, "a settlement of the kingdom, and of the liberties of the subject, according to the votes and declarations of Parliament, which before we took up arms were by the Parliament used as arguments and inducements to invite us and several of our dear friends, some of whom have lost their lives in this war, which being by God's blessing finished, we think we have as much right to demand and see a happy settlement as we have to our money, or the other common interests of soldiers that we have insisted upon."

They were willing to submit themselves to a properly elected Parliament. They were determined that the "wicked party" which they accused of

trying to stir up strife in the nation must be suppressed. They promised that, if the City would take their part and if they would fight on their side, they should find them good allies, their only object being to gain toleration and the due discharge of their rightful claims, and the best administration for the whole people.

In their next manifesto, styled the declaration of the Army, they took up still more emphatically the same grounds, and went on to claim that the leaders of the Presbyterian party should be expelled from the House of Commons. Several of their number, they said, were in favour of placing authority in the hands of some, "approved at least for moral righteousness," and specially actuated "by the principles of morals and religion."

Here, for the first time, were put forward in public documents the intentions and purposes of the party of which Harrison was to become the chief and the most active worker. But Ireton and Cromwell were not yet ripe for such a form of government; it seemed to them as if they would thus sanction "absolute and military power." They now requested the House of Commons to settle upon a day on which they should be dissolved, and to arrange for such elections to a new Parliament as would secure that the will of the people was really represented in the House which claimed to speak for it. They concluded by asking "all men to judge whether the Army sought anything for itself or for any party in the nation to the prejudice of the whole."

As the army advanced towards London, the eleven Presbyterian members of the House of Commons who

had taken the lead against them withdrew from the House, finding that the force on which they relied had no stability. The Reformadoes were for the most part unsatisfactory members of the earlier armies. The City, bent upon the development of its commerce, was ready to make any sacrifice to avoid another civil war. The troops at Worcester had returned by thousands to the ranks of their previous regiments; Pointz had been chased out of his own army, and the soldiers had declared their allegiance to Fairfax; the Scottish army was neither ready nor near enough to weigh in the scale for the moment. The great bulk of the New Model Army settled itself within easy reach of London, holding the King in its own hands as a pledge that the principles which it had propounded should be faithfully observed.

For some weeks the negotiations were protracted: negotiations with the King; negotiations with the army; negotiations with Parliament; negotiations with the Scots. Then suddenly in July, a tumult broke out in London. The mob, as it had done so often, forced its way into both Houses of Parliament, and compelled them to agree to support Presbyterianism and coerce the army. The Speakers of the two Houses, with a considerable number of members, took refuge in the camp. Fairfax, at the head of his force, marched on London in triumph, paraded the streets of the city, restored the fugitive members to their places, and finally expelled the accused eleven members from the House that they had so long swayed. Thus it was nakedly asserted in England that the one supreme power for the future was to be

the army, and it was to be supreme because it was irresistible, and could work its own will in spite of the desires of the great mass of the people. All the talk about the people being governed by the people was treated as meaningless, whenever the people by their representatives should differ from their armed masters.

Chapter V

Harrison and the Extremists against the King

1647-1649

Harrison one of the principal officers—The army becomes more republican—Negotiations of Cromwell, etc, with the King—Protests of Harrison and others—The King's fixed principles—The King charged with perfidy—Mutiny of the army—The army decides to bring the King to justice—Rising of the Royalists—Harrison in Lancashire—Fight at Appleby Bridge—Harrison dangerously wounded—His recovery, and return to Windsor—Letter to Colonel Hammond—The conference at Newport—Negotiations between Harrison and Lillburne—Pride's Purge—Harrison brings the King from Hurst Castle—Interview between Harrison and the King at Farnham—The King at Windsor—Harrison returns to London—Trial and execution of the King.

MAJOR THOMAS HARRISON, now promoted to be colonel of a regiment of horse in the New Model army, had seen one great step taken by the army towards the fulfilment of his daring projects; for on June 10th, 1647, a manifesto from the principal officers was dispatched to the city of London. The ten men who signed it were the leaders who had come to the front through the already lengthy discussion of the army's rights and duties. Of these leading officers, at least three, Colonel Rainsborough, Colonel Rich, and Colonel

Harrison, were desirous to see the monarchy overthrown, and the reign of the saints established in its place.

At first the Fifth Monarchy men had been treated by Cromwell as mere wild enthusiasts, one degree more wild than the many sects which had come into existence in this time of revolution. But in seasons of danger it is just these small bodies of men who know clearly what they want who gain the upper hand; and already in 1647, the leaders of the Fifth Monarchy men were beginning to exercise a very potent influence over the course of events; and the first step which led to the completion of their project was the introduction of the army definitely into the political life of England.

Beginning with high indignation at the neglect to pay their arrears, the great mass of the army, and especially the cavalry, now considered themselves as the champions of God for righteousness, and as endowed with a deep responsibility towards the people of England, whose best interests they would proceed to serve by establishing a godly government. The army was now encamped round and near London, with its headquarters at Putney. There constant conferences of officers and agitators began slowly to lead men's minds on towards the establishment of a republic; and upon the throne of that republic Harrison and his compeers proposed to seat the returned Christ. But that throne was not yet vacant. In the palace of Hampton Court near by, Charles the First, though a prisoner, still maintained the shadow of a Court, and the next step that would be necessary before the reign of the saints could begin was the removal of the King.

Cromwell and Ireton and a number of the chief officers still desired to retain the King as the nominal chief of the country. Fairfax and the officers who cared less for politics followed in their wake, and many conferences were held between the King and the grandees of the army, in which matters went so far that the wives of the chief officers were received in state at Court. "Their wives relished the Court well enough. For this last week Cromwell's, Ireton's, and Whalley's wives went to the Court, where Mr Ashburnham, taking Mrs Cromwell by the hand, and all the rest having their peculiar servants were led into the Court, and feasted by them. How the agitators will take these things, I know not." (Clarendon Papers, ii. 1.) The very titles which were to be held by the officers in their new posts as ministers of the King were settled. Cromwell, for instance, was to revive the old family title held in the sixteenth century by a Prime Minister, himself a Cromwell, and to be created Earl of Essex. Against this unhallowed alliance, as they styled it, Rainsborough, Rich, Harrison and their friends protested fiercely. To them the King was a man of blood, a man against whom God had pointed the finger of scorn and wrath. The army held the power to-day, and must use it. Its next duty was to bring the King to justice, and to make the throne vacant for a greater than he, the greatest of all, the Lord Jesus Christ.

In the face of these determined men, wise onlookers were already persuaded that the vacillating plans of Cromwell and Ireton would melt away, and that they and their colleagues would shortly be lapped into that strong fierce current which was sweeping the

English nation onward into a mysterious future. When the King was gone, the Parliament, already shown to be at the mercy of the army, would have either to become a mere clerks' office to the military power, or to hand over its name and its functions to the small group of Fifth Monarchy men who represented the saints upon earth.

Neither the King nor the Parliament had a will strong enough nor sufficient concentration of purpose to oppose the progress of the Fifth Monarchy men. Charles the First was a man of strong conscientious convictions, but he had none of that terrible political energy, inspired either by religion or by the enthusiasm of humanity, which showed itself in all great crises in the character of Harrison, and made him essentially the trusty man of action when there was some deadly business in hand. How thoroughly Charles the First was in earnest in his decision to die rather than give up episcopacy is well shown by the opinion of a friend who knew him intimately. Doctor, afterwards Bishop Earle, writes in 1647, "I think there are very few Councillors who will be equally careful of his honour, and as few chaplains of his conscience, both being easier to be corrupted and bribed in either, than himself."

At that very time Charles was writing, "I will less yield to the abolition of episcopacy than to the militia, my conscience being irreconcilably engaged against it."

And again, "God is my witness, my chiefest end in regaining my power is to do the Church service."

Even as late as the conference in the Isle of Wight, in October 1648, the King said, "he thought

it sacrilege to alienate the Church property to secular uses, and he was not satisfied in his conscience to take away episcopacy, about which he made a very full answer." But this determination was a mere smouldering flame, Harrison's resolve was a consuming fire.

The King's feelings being what they were it was natural that he should try to get the best terms he could for episcopacy and for monarchy out of the victorious revolutionists, the Presbyterian majority in the House of Commons, the united power of the Scottish leaders and Montrose, and the strong forces which Cromwell and Ireton could muster. Each of these groups at various times made proposals to him, and it was his natural disposition to try to divide them as far as possible from one another, in order that his own principles should eventually be established. But in efforts to carry out these plans he naturally brought upon himself a charge of insincerity and even of treachery. Cromwell and the great officers began to be convinced that the King cared nothing for their interests, and was prepared to sell them to the highest bidder; less and less resolute they became in their conservatism, more and more lukewarm in their loyalty, till, as the year 1647 passed away, Cromwell at all events began to feel that an alliance with the King was impossible.

Cromwell indeed found that he had not the bulk of the army with him in trying to effect a settlement with the King. At the beginning of November 1647, a serious mutiny broke out at Ware, which rose to its highest pitch in the regiments of Robert Lillburne and of Harrison. Harrison's regiment had recently

been reconstituted as its officers dissented from the army's movements against the Parliament. At that time Harrison had been appointed colonel, and Rainsborough's brother major, while one of the troops was commanded by Henry Cromwell. As these two regiments were very violent, Cromwell had the mutineers seized, and shot one of them out of hand; but though he quelled the mutiny for a time, none understood better than he how to mark the signs of deep feeling, and he saw clearly that the army was becoming decisively republican.

Charles inclined more day by day to lean for support on the Scots, with whose army he hoped to see marshalled a great force of his own cavaliers—a force he deemed strong enough to restore episcopacy. The more Charles leant on the Scots, the stronger became the murmuring in the English camp against him. He was informed by a good authority that his life was in danger at any moment from Harrison, Rainsborough, and their associates; and at the persuasion of the Scots he made his escape from Hampton Court on the 11th of November 1647, the very day on which Harrison was calling for his prosecution. Circumstances led him to the Isle of Wight, where Colonel Hammond, the nephew of his chaplain, had recently been appointed Governor. There once more he was safely lodged as a prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle. The army felt that the time for negotiation was passed, but for the moment there was no possibility of bringing matters to a head. The Scots were already on the move; it was known that the gentry of England of almost every persuasion were eager to liberate the King. The City itself was growing more and more dissatisfied

with the yoke of the army. In a few months news was coming in from every quarter of uprisings planned in the north, in the west, in the east, in the south to welcome the Scottish army, and in combination with it to march to London. In March 1648 Colonel Poyer rose in Pembrokeshire. In April the Scottish preparations were almost complete, and Berwick and Carlisle were surprised by the Royalists. In May a part of the fleet revolted, and went over to the Prince of Wales. In May also there was a rising in Kent, under the Earl of Norwich. In June Pontefract Castle was seized. Cromwell had to march to South Wales, Fairfax to Kent, Lambert and Harrison to the north, Rainsborough to reconquer Pontefract. But before the leaders finally parted company they held a great prayer meeting in the Castle of Windsor from April the 29th to May the 1st, at which Cromwell and all the leading officers, with the exception of Fairfax, pledged themselves, if they returned victorious, to bring the King to justice. Everywhere the New Model army was successful, and the forces of the Royalists were scattered to the winds before the Scots had crossed the border.

We have news of Harrison on the 1st of June 1648, in a letter preserved in the British Museum.

FROM MANCHESTER.

"SIR,—I am here to acquaint you with the chief heads of business with us, and of our advance towards the enemy. First is, that Colonel Lambert and Colonel Harrison's brigade of horse will be joined this 1st of June with some other forces that Colonel Harrison is to command, which, when they be together, will amount to about four thousand horse and foot; and

then we conceive we shall march towards Langdale, who is about forty miles off us now in Westmoreland; he hath sixteen troops of horse and two thousand foot, we hear he hath taken a house in that county wherein were four thousand arms and much powder, it being the chief magazine of that county, and the country gentlemen and others generally rise with them, yet we bless our God that both officers and soldiers are no whit daunted at, but are fully resolved by the help of God to go on."

In July, the great Scottish army under the command of the Duke of Hamilton entered England; Carlisle had been already captured, but near Appleby the Scots met the forces sent to check them under the command of Generals Lambert and Harrison. The first engagement which took place at Appleby, is described by Captain Hodgson, an eye-witness, in his memoirs.

"As we retreated they pursued, and fell upon our rearguard of horse near Appleby, that was commanded by that worthy pious commander, Major-General Harrison; and he got a sore wound, yet not mortal. A great providence of God was observed; the Scots drew down with horse and foot towards Appleby Bridge, and at their first appearance the water was fordable, but in a short time it was risen so high as we had no fords to maintain, but only the bridge, where we had our foot placed on a piece of advantageous ground below them, and they coming down upon us, our foot gave them weight of lead, and missed not their mark; and because they could not come to us, being many fallen, we marched to them, both horse and foot, beat them to their main body a mile

off, and made a safe retreat. These wonders our leader, whom we desired to serve, brought for us, to our great encouragement; and on the contrary, to the discouragement of the adversary. The next night we marched towards Stanemore, and left the garrison in Appleby. One Elwand, a lieutenant, belonging to our regiment, had commanded a body of stout men to join with Captain Aitkinson, and they left not a chirurgeon with them. The Scots laid down before it; and after some sallies and skirmishes, they treated, and yielded upon some small terms, to march away with their arms; and so came after us to Bernard Castle. The Scots marched towards Kendal, we towards Ripon; where Oliver met us with horse and foot."

Harrison's wound was so serious that he could take no more share in fighting that season; there were great rejoicings amongst the Royalists at the death, as they believed and hoped, of the daring republican champion. The Scots were thoroughly beaten, and for the most part captured by Cromwell and Lambert. Though Harrison was not present at the decisive battle of Preston, all men felt that his bold advance at Appleby Bridge against overwhelming forces made him one of the men of mark in the campaign of the second Civil War, and he was welcomed on his recovery as a man specially dignified and raised by God for the work the army had in hand. He and his friends at once took precautions that their royal victim should not escape, for it was still uncertain how far Hammond was prepared to support his fellow-officers in the death of the King. The following letter shows how anxious the chiefs were.

Commissary-General Ireton, Major Harrison, Colonel Desborough and Colonel Grosvenor to Colonel Hammond.

SWEET ROBIN,—Our relation is so nigh unto the best account, that nothing can concern you or us but we believe they are of a mutual concernment. And therefore we hold ourselves much obliged to transmit to you this enclosed, coming from a sure hand to us; not only as relating to yours, or our particular, but likewise as a matter of vast importance to the public. It hath pleased God (and we are persuaded in much mercy) even miraculously to dispose the hearts of your friends in the army as one man (together with concurrence of the godly from all parts), to interpose in this treaty, yet in suchwise, both for matter and manner, as, we believe, will not only refresh the bowels of the saints, and all other faithful people of this kingdom, but be of satisfaction to every honest member of Parliament when tendered to them, and made public, which will be within a very few days. And considering of what consequence the escape of the King from you (in the interim) may prove, we haste this dispatch to you, together with our most earnest request, that, as you tender the interest of this nation, of God's people, or of any mortal men, or as you tender the ending of England's troubles, or desire that justice and righteousness may take place, you would see to the securing of that person from escape, whether by returning of him to the Castle, or such other way as in thy wisdom and honesty shall seem meetest. We are confident you will receive in a few days the duplicate of this desire, and an assurance from the

general and army, to stand by you in it. And in the meantime, for our parts (though it may not be very considerable to you) we do hereby engage to own you with our lives and fortunes therein; which we should not so forwardly express but that we are compelled to the premises in duty and conscience to God and man.

The Lord, your and our God, be your wisdom and courage in this and all things. However, we have done our duty, and witness the affection of dear Hammond, your most entire and faithful brethren, friends and servants,

H. IRETON.
T. HARRISON.
J. DESBROWE.
E. GROSVENOR.

To our Honourable Friend,
COLONEL ROB. HAMMOND.
WINDSOR, 17*th November* 1648.

Meanwhile, taking advantage of the absence of the army, engaged in crushing the multifarious rebellions, the House of Commons had combined with the House of Lords to attempt once more an agreement with the King. Commissioners had been sent to Newport, in the Isle of Wight, to confer with him there, and every possible effort had been made to persuade him to accept the establishment of Presbyterianism in England. So the summer had passed, the King more and more confident that though he was alone and had no outward show of force, yet his will was still the predominant factor in the resettlement of England. But by the end of October things began

to assume a new shape. Cromwell, after routing the Scots at Preston, had marched to Edinburgh, and made an agreement with Argyle for the future government of that kingdom. The death of Rainsborough, who was murdered at Doncaster on October 29th, 1648, by a party from the Royalist garrison of Pontefract, made the extreme faction of which he had been the chief still more determined to take vengeance upon the King, and put the leadership of that party more fully than ever into the hands of Harrison.

The army was now absolute master of the situation; there was no force, nor any power within the shores of Great Britain, which could for a moment oppose it. A few months later, the Council of State reported to the House of Commons that the military force in England and Wales amounted to 44,379 horse and foot; while the sum of £120,000 a month was required to maintain them. Such a force could act as it pleased, while it would evidently be an anxious task to provide funds sufficient for its maintenance; but the great fact which would strike everyone in England was, that the whole political system must work under the reign of terror of this huge standing army. As the days went on, the leading officers became increasingly anxious about the intentions of Colonel Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight. At their request, Fairfax consented to recall him to headquarters, and as he travelled up to London he was arrested at Farnham on November 28th and brought to Windsor.

There was no one now to protect the King; Colonel Ewer was sent to take Hammond's place in the Isle

of Wight; and instructions were given that Charles should be removed to a lonely blockhouse on the shore of the mainland, called Hurst Castle. There he was safely imprisoned, while the army dealt with a still recalcitrant Parliament. The Clark Papers give us some striking details as to how the decision to subdue the two Houses was arrived at. On November 25th, 1648, Harrison was appointed one of the Committee of seven officers at Windsor to watch events. On November 26th, 1648, Clark writes from Windsor: "This day the General and general council of officers met together about nine of the clock, and continued together till about five in the afternoon, seeking God by prayer to direct them in the great business now in hand, that they may be instruments that justice may be done unto those who have caused so much blood to be shed, and that righteousness and judgment may flow in the land. It is incredible how wonderfully God appears in stirring up and uniting every man's heart as one man in the prosecution of this business, and that there might be a sudden settlement made in this kingdom, and wholesome laws and model government may speedily be agreed upon, which will be vigorously prosecuted by the army."

This unity, however, of the various sections of the minority for the destruction of the King was by no means easy of attainment. There had come down to Windsor Colonel John Lillburne, well-known for his sufferings in the Star Chamber, and for his conspicuous courage at the battle of Marston Moor. He had left the army some time before in order to devote himself to politics. It was his great object to make

all free-born Englishmen equal in political rights. He and his friends had been earnestly urging upon General Ireton, who was the moving spirit among the grandees in the absence of Oliver Cromwell, that before they marched to London to coerce the Parliament, they ought to agree on some form of constitution which would protect the liberties of the people. The constitution now proposed by them as suitable was known as the Agreement of the people, and appears in different forms more than once in the history of the times.

Ireton, the "steerman" himself as Lillburne calls him, treated the men from London with a considerable degree of contempt. Lillburne says, "He showed himself very harsh and self-assertive, and specially rejected the idea of reserving as a fundamental part of the constitution a law which would forbid even Parliament to form new laws for the punishment of men in the past, and another law for toleration in religion. Only Papists and Prelatists were excluded from the tolerated."

In the disputes, Harrison, who had recently arrived, took the opposite side to Ireton, and pressed the importance of conciliating Lillburne and his party. "He was then extreme fair and gilded," says Lillburne. As Lillburne and his friends sat in one of the inns at Windsor on the long evening of November 28th, discussing the unsatisfactory nature of the conference, Harrison came in again at ten o'clock, and had a long discussion with them. Lillburne pleaded for an immediate concession before the march to London was commenced. "We fully and effectually acquainted him with the most desperate mischievousness of their attempting to do these things, without giving some

good security to the nation for the future settlement of their liberties and freedoms; specially in frequent, free, and successive representations, according to their many promises, oaths, covenants and declarations; or else as soon as they had performed their intentions to destroy the King (which we fully understood they were absolutely resolved to do, yea, as they told us, though they did it by martial law), and also totally to root up the Parliament, and invite so many members to come to them as would join with them, to manage businesses, till a new and equal representative could by an agreement be settled; which the chiefest of them protested before God was the ultimate and chiefest of their designs and desires. . . . I say, we pressed hard for security, before they attempted those things in the least, lest when they were done we should be solely left to their wills and swords; by which, we told them, they might rule over us arbitrarily, without declared laws, as a conquered people, and so deal with us as the poor slavish peasants in France are dealt with, who enjoy nothing that they can call their own. And besides we plainly told him, we would not trust their bare word in general only, for they had broken their promise once already, both with us and the kingdom; and he that would break once, would make no conscience of breaking twice, if it served for his ends, and therefore they must come to some absolute particular compact with us, or else, some of us told him we would post away to London, and stir up our interest against them, yea, and spend our bloods to oppose them. To which Harrison replied to this effect: It was true in what we said; for he must ingenuously confess, they had once broken

with us and the kingdom, and therefore acknowledged it was dangerous trusting them upon generals again. But, saith he, we cannot stay so long from going to London with the army as to perfect an agreement, and without our speedy going we are unavoidably destroyed; for (saith he) we fully understand that the treaty betwixt the King and the Parliament is almost concluded upon; at the conclusion of which, we shall be commanded by King and Parliament to disband, the which if we do, we are unavoidably destroyed for that we have done already; and if we do not disband, they will by Act of Parliament proclaim us traitors, and declare us to be the only hinderers of settling peace in the nation; and then (saith he) we shall never be able to fight with both the interest of King and Parliament; so that you will be destroyed as well as we; for we certainly understand that Major General Brown, etc., are underhand preparing an army against us. And therefore, I profess, I know not well what to say to your reasons, they are so strong; but our necessities are so great, that we must speedily go, or perish; and to go without giving you some content, is hazardous too."

The final outcome of the discussion was to appoint a committee, such as Lillburne had asked for; but the committee had little influence. Ireton "was very angry and lord-like in his debates many times"; and this whole scheme of a constitution was gradually suppressed by him and his friends. But it had answered its purpose. Lillburne was prepared to support the advance to London, and Lillburne's influence among the soldiers and the inferior officers was so great, that it was difficult to move without him.

The majority of the Parliament was speedily expelled when the decision was once taken. On December 6th, 1648, by direction of the officers, Colonel Pride marched down with a force to Westminster to hold the doors of the House of Commons. As the members assembled to their duty, they were confronted by the colonel, who held in his hand a list of those who were to be expelled from the House ; some were imprisoned ; some took care not to present themselves at the doors, but the Independent minority was able now to work its will, and in the name of the people of England to carry out plans which the people of England detested.

Cromwell, who returned to London within a few hours of "Pride's Purge," agreed to sanction what had been done ; indeed, it is quite probable that at this time Cromwell could hardly have acted with safety to his own life against the resolutions of the main body of officers headed by Ireton and Harrison.

To Harrison fell the all important duty of bringing the King to London. On 17th December, the King was awakened in his desolate prison house by the hoofs of a great body of chargers ringing on the pavement of the courtyard. He asked who had arrived. When he heard that it was the dreaded Harrison he felt that his last hour had come, and spent the remainder of the night in prayer, preparing for his end. But Harrison was sure that he could now accomplish the death of the King, and he wished it to be done with all pomp and circumstance, as a warning to the rulers of this world that they could not escape the consequences of their evil government.

How intensely Harrison was hated by the Royalists

as the chief actor in the destruction of the King is shown in a contemporary pamphlet. "Nor is there any just excuse left them, who cannot but know for what interest they have now posted him to Windsor, whither he was brought on Saturday, December 23rd by that great warrior, Colonel Harrison, whom Walker (the Hebrew monger) salutes with their divine interpretation of his name, viz., a clear burning lamp of the mountain of battle."

On the 19th of December, the King started on his melancholy journey. On the 20th he had his first meeting with Harrison. Between Alton and Farnham a body of horse was drawn up as he passed along the road. "In the head of it was the captain gallantly mounted and armed; a velvet montero was on his head, a new buff coat upon his back and a crimson silk scarf about his waist richly fringed. As the King passed by with an easy pace (as delighted to see men well horsed and armed) the captain gave the King a bow with his head a la soldade, which his majesty requited. This was the first time the King saw the captain."

"Mr Herbert riding a little behind the King he called him to come near, and asked him who the captain was; and being told that it was Major Harrison the King viewed him more narrowly, and fixed his eye so steadily upon him, as made the major abashed, and fall back to his troop sooner than probably he intended. The King said, he looked like a soldier, and that his aspect was good, and that having some skill in faces, if he had observed him so well before, he should not have harboured that ill opinion of him."

That night the King spent in Vernon House, Farnham, the bishop's castle being in confusion ; and at supper the King had an opportunity of conversation with Harrison. "The King beckoned to him with his hand to come nearer to him ; which he did with due reverence. The King then taking him by his arm, drew him aside towards the window, where for half an hour or more they conversed together ; and amongst other things the King minded him of the information concerning him, which, if true, rendered him an enemy in the worst sense to his person, to which the major, in his own vindication, assured his majesty that what was reported of him was not true ; what he had said he might repeat, that the law was equally obliging to great and small, and that justice had no respect to persons ; which His Majesty finding affectedly spoken and to no good end, he left off further communication with him, and went to supper" (Herbert's memoirs). In a later conversation, Colonel Harrison solemnly declared to the King.

"1. That his trust was in God.

"2. That his desire is that God may have the glory of all.

"3. That he hated all base and obscure undertakings.

"4. That what would be done concerning His Majesty would be open, and to the eyes of the world.

"5. And protested that he himself would oppose any that should privately offer violence to his person.

"This gave His Majesty great satisfaction, who replied that if the army acted beyond his thoughts and expectations, he would proclaim their fame throughout all Europe."

On another occasion when the King was asked what he would do if he were impeached, "The King replied, that if any such charge of impeachment be brought against him, either by Parliment or army, he would not give any answer thereto, but declare against it, to be both arbitrary and unlawful; and that if they sought to oppose or degrade him of his titles and honours, or to spill his royal blood, by separating his soul and body, he was resolved to sacrifice his life with patience, and to cast himself into the arms and bosom of his Lord and Saviour and only Redeemer; to the end he may die like a martyr, in prosecution and defence of his religion and country. So confident is the King in his ways. But it is feared that his great averseness to the peace of this kingdom will cause much trouble and distraction to befall his people" (British Museum Pamphlets).

One last hope of escape appeared to offer itself: at Lord Newburgh's house at Bagshot, the swiftest horse in England had for some time been waiting; the intention was to substitute him by some means for the horse the King rode, and that he should then gallop off for his life at the first chance his escort gave him. When the King reached Bagshot, he found that this last hope was lost; the swift horse had fallen lame, and there was nothing for it but to continue the journey to Windsor. Harrison's careful preparations and his bitter determination to avenge the blood of the saints upon the King would probably have brought about the King's death on Bagshot Heath if Charles had made any attempt to ride away. The victim was in the toils, and the hunters had no intention of losing their prey.

At Windsor, Harrison found a letter from Ireton and Cromwell, giving him full instructions how he should act.

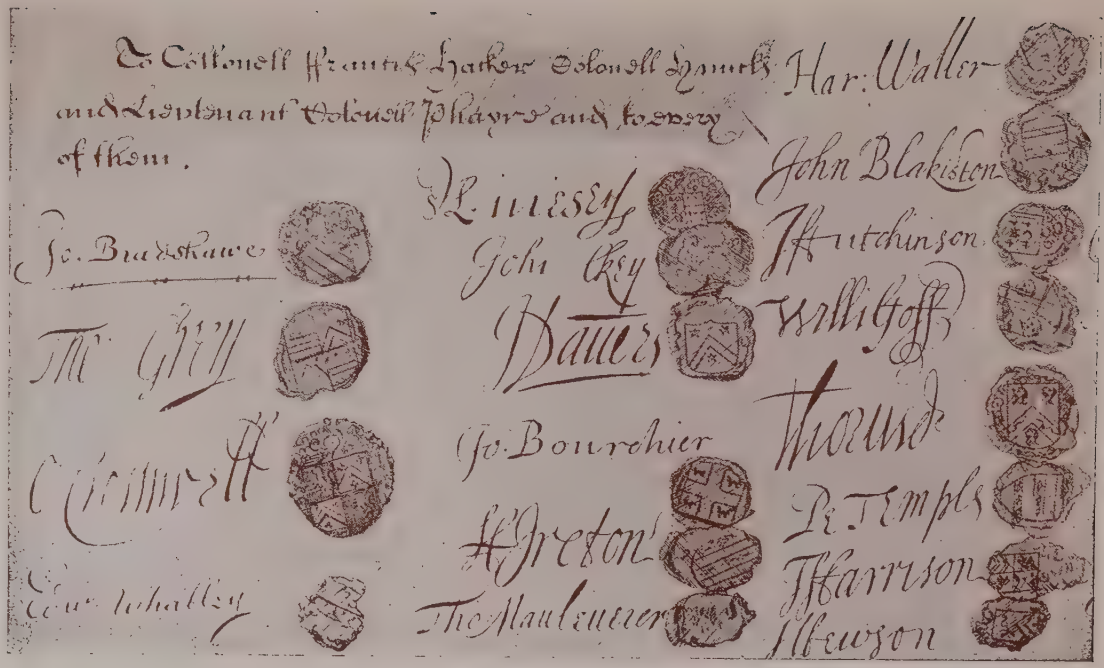
"Sir,—Colonel Tomlinson is to be speeded away to Windsor with instructions to himself, Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbett and Captain Merriman, for securing of the King, answerable to the several heads you desire resolution in, so soon as you come away, and your presence here is both desired and needed. But before you come away, we desire you to appoint three or four troops out of your convoy (of the surest men and best officered) to remain about Windsor, to whom you may assign quarters in the next parts of Middlesex and Surrey (advising with the Government therein), and to keep guard by a troop at a time within the castle, and for that purpose to receive orders from Colonel Tomlinson; and we desire you also out of the chief of the King's servants last allowed (upon advice with Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbett and Captain Merriman) to appoint about the number of six (such as are most to be confided in and who may best supply all offices) to stay with and attend the King for such necessary uses, and the rest we desire you to send away, not as discharged from the benefit of their places, but only as spared from extraordinary attendance. This is thought fit to avoid any numerous concourse, which many servants with their followers, and their relations and acquaintance would draw into the castle; and for the said reason it is wished that such of the servants retained as are least sure, and not of necessity to lie constantly in the King's lodgings, may be lodged in the town, or the lower part of the castle, wherein the Governor is to be advised with.

"Captain Mildmay (we presume) will be one of those you will find to retain, the dragoons of your convoy send away to the quarters formerly intended, which (as we remember) were in Bedfordshire. We bless God by whose providence you are come on so well with your charge. We remain your true friends to serve you, OLIVER CROMWELL.
HENRY IRETON."

"To COLONEL HARRISON at Windsor, or
by the way to Farnham thitherward.

"WESTMINSTER, *December 22nd*, 1648."

The King was now absolutely in the hands of the army, but there were circumstances definitely opposed to the advisability of putting him to death. At a meeting about this time, Cromwell is said to have persuaded the majority of the Council of officers to reject the motion for the King's execution, and to have been willing even then to vote for the King's preservation if he would consent to the sale of the property of the bishops and chapters, and at the same time surrender his veto on the laws passed by the two Houses of Parliament. These two concessions would leave the King entirely powerless in the hands of himself and his associates. But episcopacy and the monarch's power to govern were two principles most deeply rooted in the heart of Charles; he would much rather die than abandon the Church government, which he believed had been handed down through the apostles by Christ Himself, or consent to make the Divine Order of Kings a mere shadow in the organisation of England.



SOME OF THE SIGNATURES TO THE WARRANT FOR THE EXECUTION OF CHARLES I.

(*From a facsimile in the British Museum.*)

When the King definitely rejected these proposals, Cromwell became more determined than anyone that he should die. The course from which he had shrunk so long seemed to him to be absolutely necessary, and he gave the reins to that high spiritual enthusiasm which he had in common with Harrison and the Fifth Monarchy men, but which, unlike them, he had always been able to bridle with his robust common sense; for he saw how easy it was to destroy the constitution of his native land, and how difficult it might prove to build up any new system which could secure the loyal adhesion of the people.

Even now it was by no means an easy matter to carry out the execution of the King. The judges with one accord firmly refused to act. The leading officers were unwilling to condemn the King in a court-martial. They wished for some colour of pretence to legality, and that the King's trial should be carried out with some appearance of ordinary law.

Finally, they found a leading barrister, John Bradshaw, who was willing to give it this colour, and to preside over the deliberations of a special court. The Commons, frightened at the show of military force, became a mere tool in the hands of the army. Vane and Fiennes refused to take any part in the proceedings of the House; the remnant which was left nominated one hundred and sixty men, soldiers, lawyers, members of the two Houses to act as a High Court of Justice for the trial of the King. This Court met for the first time on January 20th, 1649. It was said at the trial of the regicides that Harrison argued for a very long indictment, remarking that it was to their interest to blacken the King's character as much as

they could. He was present at all the meetings, and took a very prominent part both in the trial and execution.

Charles refused to plead on the ground that the Court had no jurisdiction over him. On the 26th the Court met and agreed to the sentence of death, but the proportion of signatures was so small, being only forty-five out of the large number that had been nominated to sit upon the Court, that the chief men hesitated before carrying out the sentence. In the next few days they obtained a few more signatures, and on the 30th of January, the King was beheaded in front of the banqueting hall of Whitehall Palace.

As the executioner held up his head in the sight of a vast multitude of people, a deep groan of sorrow rose from thousands of throats, and the multitude looked so ominous in their wrath that the officers in command ordered the cavalry to clear the streets, and drive the onlookers from the neighbourhood of the scaffold. By their groans the multitude represented the feelings of the nation, and now felt, as Charles had assured them would be the case, that their lives also were at the mercy of an irresistible army.

Chapter VI

Aims and Efforts of the Fifth Monarchy Men

1649-1650

The Rule of Christ on earth—Proposed Franchise—The Agreement of the People—How far Harrison accepted it—The Levellers—Rejection of Harrison's candidature for the Council of State—Mutiny—Cromwell in Ireland—Harrison in South Wales—Bad behaviour of the soldiers—The Propagation of the Gospel—Rise of Nonconformity in Wales—Cradock and Vavasour Powell—Establishment of a preaching Ministry and ejection of Royalist Clergy—Failure to set up a religious Government in Wales.

IN the work of setting up the Fifth Monarchy under the personal government of Christ Himself, Harrison and his friends had now made marked progress. The Chair of State to be occupied by the ruler of the nation was now vacant; the King, who a short time before had seemed so strong with his powerful navy, and his country made rich and prosperous by the growth of commerce and manufacture, had been put to death like a common felon, and had been made an example to all other rulers of the dread responsibility of kingship. There remained now two other powers in the State which would need at least to be remodelled if they were to form a part of the kingdom of the saints. One of these powers, the House of Lords, had slowly melted away, until there only remained, in

January 1649, a few sparse and little considered individuals, occupying the benches which had once been crowded by the leaders of the nation. Nothing was easier than to get a law passed by the House of Commons, that in future there should be no House of Lords. But the House of Commons was more difficult to deal with. It claimed to speak in the name of the people; it claimed to represent the inhabitants of England, and these claims would have to give way before a totally different conception of government if any real progress were to be made in the establishment of the kingdom of the saints.

What exactly did Harrison and his allies mean by the Rule of Christ on the Earth? Probably the phrase remained shrouded in a cloud of mystery. But just as the servants of Christ heard His voice speaking to them distinctly in their own hearts, so that voice would now become louder and more distinct, until the whole earth heard its Heavenly King directing and judging the affairs of mankind. A dream, men will say, but still a dream with very lofty ideals, and high conceptions of what might be effected for the happiness of the world.

The Parliament of the Fifth Monarchy would be a Parliament elected exclusively by the godly. We can hardly doubt there rose before the eyes of Harrison a picture of such a Parliament as he was eventually to create, in which the members would be nominated by the little groups of professed Christians called the "gathered churches," "gathered" out of the vast mass of nominal believers who had no true claim in the opinion of the godly to be looked upon as members of the Christian Church at all.

But at present such a remodelled House of Commons was impossible; the sitting members were stiffly determined to maintain their personal authority and to keep for themselves the sweets of office. Harrison could only put forward the plea that the existing Rump Parliament, seldom composed of more than a hundred members, could not seriously be styled the representative of the people. He was at this time in the closest contact with Ireton and the other leading officers, who had just put forward a document on January the 20th, 1649, one of the many styled the Agreement of the people. By it there were to be four hundred members of the new House, elected from each county in proportion to its population and importance, giving some twenty to York and fourteen to Middlesex, who were to be in session for the larger part of each year, and were to be elected by the people every other twelvemonth.

Side by side with this new House of Commons was to be chosen by the representatives of the people a smaller body of thirty-eight, who were to be called the Council of State; and this was to be the executive of the future government.

"The Agreement set out certain fundamental principles which even the Legislature itself might not change, and which should secure his personal rights to every individual in the country. Chief of these principles was the principle of religious toleration as then professed by the dominant party,—a toleration for Independents, Presbyterians, Baptists and all other sects, but jealously excluding both the Romanists and the Anglicans, though these two bodies formed much more than half of the English nation.

How far Harrison was satisfied with the Agreement of the people is distinctly brought out in his speech at a meeting of the officers on January 6th, 1649.

"I think that it would be in order to the gentleman's satisfaction that spoke last that this that is in question before your Excellency be read; because there are many that have not read it since some alterations be made in it.

"That I do believe there are few here can say that it is in every particular to the satisfaction of their heart, that it is as they would have it; but yet that there are few here but can say there is much in one or other kind (is so). I think that gentleman that spoke last speaks the minds of others, but we find Jesus Christ himself spoke as men were able to bear. It is not a giving power to men; only while we are pleading (for) a liberty of conscience there is a liberty (to be) given to other men. This is all the liberty that is given. . . . For the government on the whole I think it hath been acting upon the hearts of many of us that it is not an agreement amongst men that must overcome the hearts of men; it shall not be by might, nor by strength, but by his spirit. Now this government doth seem to me to be a fruit of that Spirit. . . . Though this hath stuck, that the Word of God doth take notice, that the powers of this world shall be given into the hands of the Lord and His saints, that this is the day, God's own day, wherein He is coming forth in glory in the world, and He doth put forth Himself very much by His people, and He says in that day wherein He will thresh the mountains, He will make use of Jacob as that threshing instrument. Now by this we seem to put power

into the hands of the men of the world when God doth wrest it out of their hands; but that having been my own objection as well as (the objection of) others, it had this answer in my heart. That when the time shall be, the spirit of God will be working to it, and He will work on us so far that we are (to be) made able in wisdom and power to carry through things in a way extraordinary, that the works of men shall be answerable to His works; and finding that there is not such a spirit in men, 'it is only to get power into our own hands,' 'that we may reign over them,' 'it is to satisfy our lusts,' 'to answer the lusts within us,' but rather that it was in our hearts to hold forth something that may be suitable to (the minds) of men. . . . I judge it will do so. And that this government will fall short. I think that God doth purposely design it shall fall short of that end we look for, because He would have us know our peace. Our Agreement shall be from God, and not from men; and yet I think the hand of God doth call for us to hold forth (something) to the nation, and to all the world to vindicate that profession that we have all along made to God, (and) that we should let them know that we seek not of ourselves but for men" (Clark Papers).

It is plain that Harrison only accepted this proposed constitution as a step towards his higher ideal of the Fifth Monarchy.

The establishment of this Agreement of the people would require the whole energies of the House of Commons and the Council of Officers. For there were large sections of the army, and specially amongst the ranks of the common soldiers, who were not satisfied with this new constitution, and felt that it

would still leave too much power in the hands of the grandees, of whom Cromwell, Ireton and Harrison were the chief. One group of these men called the Levellers, of whom Colonel John Lillburne was the acknowledged leader, already began to show signs of mutiny, and were likely to prove dangerous in the future. For the moment the Fifth Monarchy men themselves were satisfied with the leadership of Cromwell, who had a great sympathy with them, and of Harrison, who above all men embodied their idea of the true religious leader fit to govern in the kingdom of the saints, and who seems to have been very susceptible to the charm of Cromwell.

Harrison's masterful leadership in the carrying out the execution of the King was so fully recognised by the House of Commons, that to him was entrusted the special duty of limiting the ceremonies of the King's interment. But while they acknowledged that it had been Harrison's energy which had brought about the King's death, the House of Commons still felt an intense bitterness against the men, specially Ireton and Harrison, who had compelled them to suffer the humiliation of Pride's Purge.

When the first Council of State was nominated by the Committee of Safety which it was intended to supersede, there were found in the original list as a matter of course the names of Ireton and Harrison. All the other names suggested were approved by the House, but Ireton and Harrison were deliberately rejected. However great the influence they might wield as the leaders of the Council of Officers, the Commons were determined to show that they themselves still held the control of affairs. We find

Harrison's name on the list of most of the chief committees of the Parliament in those days ; notably he was placed on the Committee which was to repeal all the Acts for compelling persons to attend their parish church, and was to secure the fuller toleration of unusual opinions.

A few weeks later the uprisings of the Levellers began, and in April and May of 1649, while the army was being formed for the reconquest of Ireland, there seemed at one time a real likelihood that a more extreme party of political reform would succeed in gaining their way in the reorganisation of the new government. But the stern promptness of Cromwell, well supported by Harrison, quelled the mutiny which broke out both in London and in the Midlands ; and the Levellers found that they had not strength sufficient to overthrow the power of the officers.

The most serious rising was in the Midlands. On May the 1st, 1649, the regiment of Adrian Scrope, one of the regicide officers ordered to march from Salisbury for Ireland, refused to move until full liberty was established in England. The larger part of Ireton's regiment joined in the revolt, and also several troops of Reynolds' regiment ; it was feared that Harrison's and Skippon's regiments would follow suit, and no one could tell how far the rebellious spirit might spread. Fairfax and Cromwell assembled their regiments in Hyde Park, addressed the troops and secured their loyalty, and gathering round them all available forces, marched in hot haste to attack the mutineers. They were in time to head them off before they could approach Harrison's regiment in Buckinghamshire, and surprised them at Burford at

midnight, on the 14th of May. Three leaders were shot, and the remainder of the mutineers were distributed amongst different regiments. Harrison had taken part in the suppression of the mutiny, and on a visit to Oxford four days later, was rewarded, together with Colonels Hewson and Okey, by receiving from the University the dignity of a Master of Arts; while Fairfax and Cromwell were created Doctors of Civil Law.

In July Cromwell set out for Ireland to reconquer that country, in which only a few detached garrisons held out for the Parliament. In the same month a number of gentlemen came from South Wales to ask for a general to take charge of that district during the absence of Colonel Horton, who had accompanied Cromwell to Ireland. The petition was referred to the Lord General Fairfax, who appointed Harrison to this important command. Harrison eagerly seized the opportunity. South Wales had been a very hotbed of loyalism. The great nobles who owned large properties there had been strong supporters of the King. So far nonconformity had been but a weakly plant among the great hills and in the scattered farms. The sequestration of the rents of delinquents offered large opportunities for establishing a government financially strong and unshackled by local magnates. Through the district ran one of the great roads along which recruits for the army in Ireland and provisions for its maintenance were constantly passing. Very busy therefore the active Harrison came to be with work, military, civil, and religious.

His first duty was to bring under proper discipline the soldiers marching for Ireland and embarking at

Milford Haven. Ugly stories were being forwarded to the House of Commons from every district in England as to the ill-behaviour of the military. One of the principal members of Parliament, Sir James Harrington, had been insulted by a band of soldiers, headed by two sergeants, who threatened to insult his wife, unless they were heavily bribed. "As to the Act of Parliament," he writes, "they esteem it not so much as a straw under their feet." Sir James was compelled to continue at home to preserve his house from ill-treatment, so that he could attend neither the Parliament nor the Council of State.

The Council of State writes to an officer in command of the district, "What other people suffer from the soldiery, who have not the heart nor the way to make their grievances known, you may well judge."

The State papers are full of stories of the insolence uttered, and the outrages perpetrated by the soldiers marching towards Ireland.

"The disturbances," the Council writes to another officer, "committed by the soldiers be much to your distaste that order should be thus vilified and trampled under foot. If there be no present course taken that the authors of such insolencies be brought to punishment, and the like prevented in other places, there will be an end of the peace and happiness of this nation, and all will be under the lawless will of disorderly men." The Council was strongly of opinion that many of the disturbances originated from emissaries specially sent to England by the new king and his councillors abroad.

"Practices," they say, "are still continued to corrupt the discipline of the regiments, and debauch them

from their obedience; the soldiers have taken the greater liberty to live at discretion, to the grievance of the people, raising in them by the sense of their present burdens a greater disaffection to the present Government." Many of the soldiers who enlisted marched very unwillingly to the war.

The district of which Harrison was in charge stretched as far as the Forest of Dean in Gloucestershire, where the Council of State had ordered all the ironworks to be demolished under his supervision, in order that the timber of the great forests might be preserved for shipbuilding and other purposes. Harrison must have been in constant communication with the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Oliver Cromwell, who was in these months carrying out his plans for terrifying the Irish Roman Catholics and Royalists into submission. But the chief interest of the young general was in the spread of religion, which was so dear to his own heart. On the 26th of January 1650, Sir Arthur Hazelrigg introduced into Parliament, a bill for the teaching and preaching of the Gospel in Wales. Harrison, who was at this time in London, brought up this bill as the reporter of the committee; and the House entrusted to him the special care of administering the new law. A few months later, Harrison helped Hazelrigg in return to carry through an act for preaching the Gospel in the northern counties where Hazelrigg was in command. The generals were put at the head of the commissions for seeing that these acts were thoroughly carried out. Harrison and his commission, consisting of seventy-one members, and twenty-five ministers as assessors, had a very free hand.

The stern laws passed against the printing of pamphlets and books written by men who opposed the new régime, and for the "suppression of such ministers as declared openly in the pulpit against the proceedings of the present government," made it easy for him to muzzle his antagonists. The Royalist agent, Mr Price, depicts for us the condition of the country at that time. "His Majesty's party in England is so poor, so disjointed, so severely watched by both the other factions, that it is impossible for them to do anything on their own score; but if he could beget a good understanding between his own party and the Presbyterians, they might, under their shadow, rise again; otherwise, nothing but a foreign force can begin this work. In England, the Independents are possessed of all the towns, forts, navy and treasure; the Presbyterians yet hold a silent power by means of the divines, and the interests of some gentry and nobility, especially in London and the great towns. Their fortunes are yet unshaken though threatened. Besides, by former use when they held the towns, they continue intelligence, which the King's party cannot do" (Clarendon Papers).

The first powerful Nonconformist influence in Wales was the preaching of John Penry, executed in 1593 on the charge of being the author of the Martin Marprelate pamphlets. His appeals for help give a very gloomy picture of the state of the country. "Thousands of our people know Jesus Christ neither to be God nor Man, priest nor prophet, and have almost never heard of Him. Oh, desolate and forlorn condition." The few Puritan preachers who preached in Wales, in the first forty years of the seventeenth century, had been

for the most part expelled from that country before the Civil War broke out. Nonconformity was almost confined to the one organised congregational church at Llanvaches. Wales was passionately Royalist, and the Nonconformist leaders fled at the beginning of hostilities to Bristol and London. Now they had come back, eager to take in hand the great work of converting the Welsh people to their opinions, and these men, headed by Walter Cradock and Vavasour Powell, were invited to become assessors of the Harrisonian propaganda. They were well satisfied with the reception they obtained from the people. "The gospel is run over the mountains between Brecknockshire and Monmouthshire as a fire in the thatch," writes one; while Powell calls for a supply of able Welsh ministers and Welsh Bibles. "There is not one Bible," he complains "among 500 families." These wants were speedily supplied by the new Commission. They went from parish to parish expelling every minister whose conduct did not satisfy them; and their enquiries give a very bad character to the clergy, accusing many of them of being drunkards, ignorant, and malignants. A Royalist writer of the time declares that between 500 and 600 clergy were rejected, many of them very deserving men. Their places were much better supplied according to the opinion of the propagators by a preaching ministry, and the commissioners for their part utterly denied that anything like that number had been expelled. Powell says, "I often tendered this to the ejected ministers that if they could manifest that they had the work of grace wrought in them, or could produce any that had received spiritual good by their ministry, they should,

as far as it lay in my power, be restored to their places; but not one of them ever claimed this."

The opposing conceptions of what the clergy ought to be, were much too far apart to allow either side to understand the other, and certainly a very great deal of hardship was inflicted on many Incumbents; on the other hand many of the Welsh clergy had shown themselves unfit for their responsible duties. The tithes were everywhere taken into the hands of the commissioners, who were said to enjoy an income of £60,000 a year. It was natural there should be a great outcry at this revolutionary proceeding.

A Royalist writes:—"Major-General Harrison (was in command) in Wales; in which employment to characterise his tyranny would swell a volume far exceeding this intended discourse. The laws of the land were not executed in Wales, but Major-General Harrison's laws were there in full force. No orthodox minister could there be suffered but whom he pleased to allow; with the assistance of his chaplain Mr Vavasour Powell (a giddy-headed parson, and second brother to Mr Hugh Peters) he endeavoured the remodelling of that country, so that the opinion of his own proselytes should teach and instruct the people. In a word, he was the chief holder forth to that dangerous people called the Fifth Monarchy" (British Museum Pamphlet).

No doubt many of Harrison's acts were done hastily, but his aim was to show to the rest of England how the new revolutionary state could be so organised as to develop easily into the Fifth Monarchy. For such a purpose the ordinary "reading" clergyman was evidently of no use; men were required hot from

contact with the revelation of the Spirit, and probably a number of unworthy persons crept in among the fiery enthusiasts and brought discredit upon them. Harrison's own supervision of the work must have been somewhat perfunctory, for he was constantly absent at this time attending his duties as a member of the House of Commons.

The commissioners became so unpopular that their powers were terminated in 1653, in spite of the urgent remonstrances of Harrison and also of Oliver Cromwell who saw in the Welsh preachers men after his own heart.

It was the opposition of the Parliament to his religious work in Wales which finally brought Harrison into collision with that body. He was full of wrath at the thought that so much good work should perish for want of encouragement. But the propagation was not brilliantly successful; and through the whole of the reign of the Protector, Wales was rent into fiercely opposing parties, and when the Restoration came, there were only twenty "gathered Churches" ready to face the storm.

Chapter VII

Harrison in Supreme Command in England

1650-1651

Unpopularity of the Republican Government—Fairfax resigns—Harrison organises the Militia, and is made Commander-in-Chief—March of Cromwell's army to Scotland—Letter from Harrison—The new Militia composed of Independents—Precautions taken to keep order—Relief felt at the Victory of Dunbar—Fresh anxiety in 1651—Reception of the Spanish Ambassador—Harrison sent to the north-western counties to resist any Scottish Invasion—He collects a strong force—Trial of Christopher Love, and other Presbyterians—Correspondence between Harrison and the Council of State—Harrison visits Cromwell at Edinburgh—New plan of campaign—The King and his army march southward—Harrison hangs on their flank—He is joined by Lambert—Great mustering of the Militia—The armies meet at Warrington—Lambert and Harrison retreat to the east—The King at Worcester—Concentration of troops to surround him—Harrison heads the pursuit after the victory—Treatment of prisoners—Disbandment begins—Harrison distrusts the Parliament.

COLONEL HARRISON could not long be spared to carry on the religious reform in Wales. The new Republican Government was in ever growing danger. By the spring of 1650 it was evident that either the English must invade Scotland, or the Scots would invade England. Should the Scottish army cross the border, it might expect to find itself suddenly swollen to three times its number by the disaffected in England itself.

Not only the Cavaliers, but also the Presbyterians looked upon the new government as sacrilegious, and groaned under the irresistible forces of its great army. Royalist agents, moving from place to place, sent over most confident accounts of the immense support of armed men who were promised, should once a thorough effort be made to restore the traditional order.

One of them quotes a supposed saying of Sir Henry Vane, "that we are in a far worse state than ever before, that the Irish would be our enemies, that the Scots had left us, and that our own army and generals were not to be trusted, that the whole kingdom would rise and cut our throats on the first good occasion, and that we know not of any place to go to and be safe." One of Vane's friends added, "that they would find London their greatest enemy when their army was drawn north." Bradshaw, too, the Lord President of the Council, said it was astonishiug how few Cavaliers had become reconciled to the new government.

The allusion to the generals seems to point to the possibility of some determined step on the part of Fairfax. At all events, Fairfax was now resolved to leave himself full freedom of action; he informed the Government that his conscience would not allow him to command an army for the invasion of Scotland, and no persuasion that could be used to him by his colleagues could turn his purpose. This brought the Independent generals back quickly to London. Oliver Cromwell was summoned home from Ireland in hot haste by the Government to be ready to occupy the place of Fairfax if necessary. Harrison and others were equally needed for their own special

work. The High Court of Justice was once more set up as a ready instrument to remove from the shifting scenes of this changeable world general or preacher who should become dangerous.

Harrison on his return was promptly set to work on a Bill for regulating the Militia, and on June 21st, when it had been settled that Cromwell should command in Scotland, Harrison was named Commander-in Chief of such forces "as are appointed for the security of these parts (*i.e.* England) during the absence of the Lord General and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and in subordination to them."

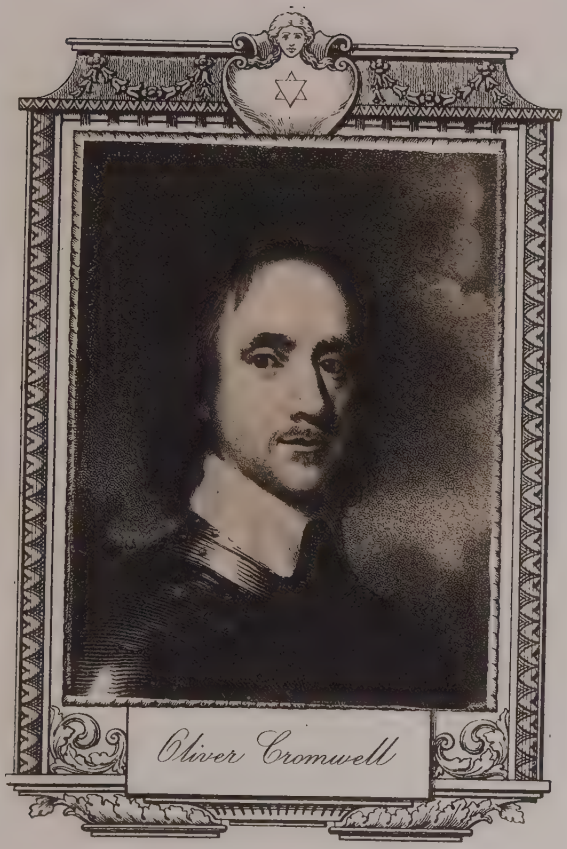
It shows how strongly the emotions of many of the Parliamentary leaders were at work, that in this time of stress and peril, when any day might see the last of the Republic, another Bill was referred to the Committee "to suppress divers atheistical, blasphemous, and execrable opinions, and unlawful meetings and assemblies." Some of the Independent members may have thought that here would be a good opportunity for putting down dangerous political movements; but to most of them, like Harrison, these new laws were to be a proof to God and man of the sincerity of their religious life.

There was another side, however, to the doings of the Long Parliament, than this which reported on matters of religion and self-defence. Milton, Cromwell, and many other witnesses testify to the care with which most of the leaders of the Parliament provided themselves with large fortunes. Even such men as Vane, Harrison, and Bradshaw found a handsome profit in the service of the State, receiving large gifts of land and money as a reward for their services. Harrison

was not at this time a member of the Council of State, constantly as he was in intercourse with it, but he became a member of that august assembly itself in February 1651.

On the 26th of June 1650 the appointment of Cromwell to succeed Fairfax was communicated by order of the Council of State to the military commanders throughout England; and immediately the great army which had been collected started on its march to Scotland. It was rumoured that "several of the troops of cavalry and companies of infantry since the General (Fairfax) relinquished his office, have refused to march into Scotland."

The head of the intelligence department, in whom Cromwell put the most complete confidence, Mr William Rowe, writes to the general on April 23rd, 1650, "there be some mutterings of the levelling spirit in divers of the army, and some seem tender towards the sects." It became necessary to make sure of the loyalty of the commanders in the outlying districts of England, and Sir Arthur Hazelrigg was sent down to command in the north. He reported, "that the people come in very freely to help the new militia and unanimously subscribe the engagement" (a promise of obedience to the Government). He hears that a great horse race meeting is to be held in his district, which he will carefully watch. Colonel Overton, Governor of Hull, and commanding the great arsenal of the northern counties, was sounded to see if he could be trusted; he answered that he and his garrison would do anything that Cromwell wished. At the beginning of July, Harrison writes to Cromwell to bid him God-speed, himself assuming the



Oliver Cromwell

still more dangerous duty of keeping peace in the south.

"*July 3rd*, 1650.

"My dear Lord,—To spare you trouble, I forbear to give you my excuse for not writing to you to Ware; I know you love me, therefore are not apt to except, though in the particular I had not failed, but that orders from the Council superseded me.

"Considering under how many and great burdens you labour, I am afraid to say any more, that I may not add to them; but love and duty make me presume. The business you go upon is weighty as ever yet you undertook; the issue plainly and deeply concerns the life or death of the Lord's people, His own name and His Son's; nevertheless may you rejoice in God (whose affair it is) who, having given you numberless signal testimonies to other parts of the work, will in mercy prosper this; that He may perfect what He hath begun; and to omit other arguments, that in Deut. xxxii. 27, hath much force on my heart, specially the last words: 'and the Lord hath not done all this.' I believe if the present enemy should prevail, he would as certainly reproach God, and all that hitherto hath been done as aforesaid, even as I now write; but the jealousy of the Lord of Hosts for His great name will not admit it. My Lord, be careful for nothing, but pray with thanksgiving (to wit in faith) Phil. iv. 6, 7. I doubt not your success, but I think faith and prayer must be the chief engines, as heretofore the ancient worthies, through faith, subdued kingdoms, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens. Oh, that a spirit of faith and supplica-

tion be poured forth upon you and your army. There is more to be had in this poor simple way, than even saints expect.

"My Lord, let waiting upon Jehovah be the greatest and most considerable business you have every day; reckon it so, more than to eat, sleep, or counsel together. Run aside sometimes from your company and get a word with the Lord. Why should you not have three or four precious souls always standing at your elbow, with whom you might now and then turn into a corner? I have found refreshment and mercy such a way.

"Oh, the Lord of compassion own, pity your burdens, care for you, stand by and refresh your heart each moment. I would I could in any kind do you good, my heart is with you, and my poor prayers to my God for you. The Almighty Father carry you in His very bosom, and deliver you (if it be His will) from touching a very hair of any for whom Jesus hath bled. I expect a very gracious return in this particular. But I am sorry to be thus tedious: pardon me. Here is little news; only Charles Vane returned from Portugal, who left our fleet indifferently well, and that they had seized nine of the Portugal's ships. The Father of mercies visit and keep your soul close to Him constantly, protect, preserve, and prosper you, is the prayer of, my Lord, your excellency's loving servant, whilst I breathe, J. HARRISON."

This stirring and yet pathetic letter will make all readers regret that so little of the correspondence of Harrison has survived.

Meanwhile, the new commander-in-chief in England was busy with the arrangements of the new militia,

which was to be ready to support the army in case of need against the Scots.

The mode in which the new militia was to be raised was thoroughly characteristic of Harrison's mind as to the reorganisation of England. In every county a body of men who were absolutely loyal to the Government was put in charge of the new forces with the title of commissioners. The money to support the new regiments was to be raised from all men whatever their political opinions, who had an income of ten pounds a year. But these men were not entrusted with arms. Only those who took the engagement, and were members of the Independent congregations scattered throughout the country, were to be enlisted for personal service. This new force of militia, just as much as the ordinary regiments of the New Model Army, was to be entirely composed of those who were called to be saints. How valuable this force was to prove, and how thoroughly it preserved the various parts of England from any really serious rebellion, is very plainly seen in the speedy suppression of the Norfolk rising, which was the principal attempt of the many made by the Royalists; and still further by that mighty gathering of some thirty thousand men which finally cooped up King Charles and his Scots in the city of Worcester.

But while this body was forming, the anxieties of the Government, and especially of their military chief, Colonel, now Major-General, Harrison, were very heavy. The Government decided to strike terror into the hearts of all their opponents by bringing up prominent prisoners, who had been concerned in previous efforts of revolt, before the new High Court

of Justice. The Ordnance was put under the charge of General Harrison; no arms were to be issued without his directions; the most careful precautions were observed in guarding Whitehall, in which several members of the Government now had apartments. In the early part of August special directions were given "to keep the doors into Spring Gardens carefully shut."

As the year went on, more and more large bodies of troops were despatched by the major-general to the northern districts. Colonel Rich, one of the prominent Fifth Monarchy leaders, was put in command of Lancashire. In all the districts of the south recruiting went on merrily. Officers who had come up to London to report upon the condition of their garrisons were promptly ordered to return to their duties. When the Norfolk insurrection was crushed, a special local High Court of Justice frightened the opponents of the Government in the eastern counties into abject submission. The city of London was compelled to raise the large sums of money that were needed to keep up the army in Scotland and the army in Ireland, and the numerous forces now quartered in various parts of England.

In September the anxieties had reached a climax; the Government knew how dangerous was the position of Cromwell's army in Scotland, baulked in all its efforts to bring the Scots to an engagement, and compelled to retreat slowly towards Berwick. The painfulness of this crushing anxiety became the measure of the joyfulness when at the beginning of September the government received the astounding news of the victory of Dunbar. Outnumbered by

two to one, Cromwell, with his able lieutenants, Lambert and Monk, had thoroughly routed the big Scottish army under General David Leslie, had counted three thousand wounded and dead on the field, and had taken ten thousand prisoners, with the loss of only twenty or thirty of their own soldiers. We see Harrison's own feeling that this victory of the godly party was an answer to prayer, in the letters preserved among the Milton papers, in which the leading people wrote to congratulate Cromwell.

Mr Peter Sterry writes, "September 9th, 1650. By your undertakings, a peculiar presence and appearance of God is made manifest, drawing the hearts of His people by that which they see to that of Him which is invisible." He goes on to describe the anxieties in London. "On the very next day the Saturday, came the great tidings that the Lord had justified His servants, and the work of the Spirit in their hands. The Lord give to your Excellency and all His servants, a spiritual sight of Himself and His works."

In a similar letter written by Sir Henry Vane the same day, he says in like manner: "We pray God will be pleased to direct us to make a right use of what He hath done for us. You may be sure we shall not be wanting, through God's presence, goodness, and assistance, to make the best use we can for the good of those who fear God in the land. We have ordered five hundred horse and foot to go into Scotland."

September 26th, 1650, Chief-Justice Oliver St John writes to Cromwell: "How bare hath the arm of the Lord been made in these our days, so constant and great have His works been for our people, as if the

day of vengeance which hath been long in His heart, and the time of His redeemed were come. In former time He looked and there was none to help, and therefore His own arm brought salvation to us, for though He hath borne long, yet He will speedily avenge His elect. . . . And when the Son of Man shall come to do this work, shall He find faith on the earth? My Lord, if the present time be only the dawning of that day, yet high and glorious even now, are the dispensations of His goodness to His people." He goes on to describe how both sides had referred the matter before the battle to the Lord. "This season did the Lord choose to give His judgment, and signal was it. . . . In this great work, some see the hand of the Lord that is lifted up, others both here and there they will not see it, nor be ashamed for all their envy of His people; we must not insult over them, but still endeavour to heap coals of fire upon their heads. How sweet it is that none of our supplications to God are in vain."

But as the months went on, and the campaign in Scotland dragged out its weary length, while Cromwell himself was ill from overwork and anxiety, once more the shadows seemed to darken round that little group of men who had brought the King to the scaffold, and who were now holding down the people of England by force, and at the same time coercing Ireland and Scotland. They were further perplexed by the more than doubtful neutrality of France and Holland, who thought that they would find in the dissensions of England an opportunity of crushing the commerce and power of their long dreaded competitor.

The situation was made more distressing by the

rivalry among the leaders. Cromwell's friend, Chamberlain, tells him, "Envy had divided the central government into jealousies," and adds, "every man seeks his own." Thomas Challinor writes of "the men of narrow hearts who speciously conduct things"; while another correspondent describes the situation, "were we yet thoroughly purged from our dross, I doubt not but that these fellows (describing the leaders in office) will be burnt, but they must serve till that time."

A story from the charming pages of Mrs Hutchinson illustrates the outward pomp by which the new Government at this period endeavoured to make a show of confidence. It describes the reception of the Spanish ambassador, who was the first foreign envoy to be accredited to the Republic.

"About the same time a great ambassador was to have public audience in the House; he came from the King of Spain, who was the first great power to acknowledge the new Commonwealth. The day before his audience, Colonel Hutchinson was set in the House, near some men handsomely clad, among whom was Mr Charles Rich, since Earl of Warwick; and the colonel himself had on that day a habit which was pretty but grave and no other than he usually wore. Harrison, addressing particularly to him, admonished them all, that now the nations sent to them, they should labour to shine before them in wisdom, piety, righteousness, and justice, and not in gold or silver and worldly bravery, which did not become saints, and that the next day when the ambassador came they should not set themselves out in gorgeous habits, which were unsuitable to holy professions. The colonel, although he was not convinced of any mis-

becoming bravery in the suit he wore that day, which was but of sad coloured cloth trimmed with gold, and silver points and buttons; yet because he would not appear offensive in the eyes of religious persons, the next day he went in a plain black suit, and so did all the other gentlemen; but Harrison came that day in a scarlet coat and cloak, both laden with gold and silver lace, and the coat so covered with clinquant, that scarcely could one discern the ground, and in this glittering habit set himself just under the speaker's chair, which made the other gentlemen think that his godly speeches the day before were but made that he alone might appear in the eyes of strangers. But this was part of his weakness; the Lord at last lifted him above these earthly elevations, which then and some time after prevailed too much with him."

The action of Harrison in making himself so prominent at the reception was natural enough; he was not only a member of the House of Commons and of the Council of State, but further was the military commandant of the district in which the central government discharged its functions, and was compelled to be prominent as the guardian of that central government.

But the quieter work of organisation was not able long to detain Harrison from the field of military action. In March 1651 the Parliament came to the conclusion that Rich was not a strong enough man to hold the important district which had been committed to his charge. They were beset with the fear of a Scottish invasion; and while the great eastern route through York, Berwick, and Durham was well garrisoned and carefully held by the vigilance of Sir

Arthur Hazelrigg, there seemed to be a more vulnerable passage into England by the great western road, which ran through Lancashire and Staffordshire. People had never forgotten the skill with which Harrison had checked and hindered the huge army from Scotland in 1648 as it marched by this western route to the deliverance of the King, nor that daring act of courage by which he had saved the army of Lambert at the Bridge of Appleby, at the cost of wounds so severe that they had long seemed likely to terminate fatally. Rich therefore was removed to an honourable appointment in the now pacified east of England : and Harrison was sent up with 4000 men as a reinforcement to hold the western route, should Charles and his advisers make an attempt at an invasion of England.

In May 1651 Harrison started for the north-west, having under his command 2,500 men specially raised out of the new militia, and with directions to collect as many more troops as he could of similar calibre in Lancashire and the adjoining counties. This force consisted principally of members of the Independent churches, to whose control the arrangements for the militia had been subjected, and they were all men that could be relied upon by the present Government. Indeed, so skilfully had Harrison managed matters in organising this militia, that when danger came, the mustering of the "gathered churches" gave the impression of a regular levee *en masse* from the English counties to arrest the invasion of England by the Scots.

The strong position which the Government possessed, since Harrison's departure assured it that the one

weak point in the defence was now well guarded, enabled the Council of State to proceed to strike terror into the hearts of the disaffected in London. The whole winter through there had been constant arrests of men who were known to be in communication with the King or the Scots. Several of them were condemned to death by the High Court of Justice, set up for the special purpose of avoiding the need of trial by jury in political causes.

By the evidence of these condemned men a number of the leading Presbyterian ministers in London were accused of entering into plots for the overthrow of the Republican Government. Of the preachers inculpated the Government did not proceed to extremities against the popular names of Gouge and Calamy, who had been arrested. But Christopher Love was tried before the High Court of Justice, and was proved to have had certain connections with the Scots and Royalist agents in London. The proof, indeed, was absolutely insufficient to convict him in any way of treason ; at the trial the witnesses failed entirely to affirm on oath the statements that they had previously made in private to the law officers of the Government. But there was enough evidence to allow the High Court of Justice with some appearance of equity to pronounce him guilty. Ever since the Presbyterian leaders had been driven out of the House of Commons at the demand of the army, now some four years ago, there had been the greatest dissatisfaction amongst them, and an intense desire to regain the control of affairs. Specially the ministers, who had learnt from the Scots how important might be their political rôle, had become more and more indignant

to think that the revolution which had been commenced in the interest of their religious organisation, and which was to have given so great a place to the preachers of the Word of God, had now passed entirely under the control of the sects and sectaries, whom they hated even more profoundly than they hated the Episcopalians and Roman Catholics. It was the Presbyterian energy which had carried the first series of new laws, circumscribing the power of the crown; it was the money of the Presbyterians which had raised the first armies; it was the skill of Presbyterians which had won the first victories; more than once everything had depended on the Presbyterians of London, and without their aid, some tremendous catastrophe would have overwhelmed the Cause; now they were put on one side, in the name of God Himself, of whose plans they believed they were the truest administrators; and the scattered minority belonging to the "gathered churches," Independents, Baptists, and their supporters, controlled the army, and held sway over the English nation. It was therefore perfectly natural that the Presbyterians should do all that lay in their power to change the form of Government, while on the other hand it was a matter of life and death with the Independents to keep them in subjection. To arrest a number of prominent ministers, to condemn several, and to execute some, would prove to the turbulent element among the Presbyterians that no position was too sacred, no calling was too revered to be spared by the terrible executive.

Love's execution did not take place till 22nd August, when he and Gibbons were put to death

a few days before the battle of Worcester. But this very delay proved the power of the Government which allowed itself to listen to remonstrance after remonstrance on its treatment of these sacred persons, and yet in the end calmly carried out its earliest intention. At all events, in the excitement of the Royalist march southward, there was no movement in support of the victims in London or its neighbourhood. The Presbyterians could only wait and pray helplessly while the Independent party fought the King and the Scots, to decide who should be masters of England.

All this summer, while the fate of Love hung in the balance, Harrison was on active service. His first duty was to see that in Staffordshire, Lancashire, and the other counties under his charge, all disaffected persons were confined in prison, and to inspect for himself the arrangements made for the new militia in the counties of Staffordshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Derby, Nottingham, and York. The Council of State expressed in the following terms the reasons and the nature of his appointment.

"March 20th, 1651. Council of State to the militia commissioners for counties Stafford, Chester, Derby, Notts, and York. The enemies, notwithstanding all the manifestations of the hand of God against their undertakings hitherto, continue their conspiracies to begin new troubles and raise another war, which God has been pleased to discover to us by a special hand of His Providence, and for preventing the effect thereof, we have sent Major-General Harrison into those parts, with some forces. The better to enable him to perform that service, we have directed him to give orders to such horse (foot) and

dragoons of the militia of your county as he shall find necessary, and you are to give him such assistance as he shall direct, and certify the Council of your proceedings."

Harrison thus shared with Sir Arthur Hazelrigg, who was in command of the north-eastern counties, the wardenship of northern England ; he still retained his intimate connection with the administration of Wales, and at least one Welsh minister, Vavasour Powell, raised a force out of his own congregation to join him, and headed it in person as Colonel Powell. To all these arrangements, Cromwell on application to the Council of State, gave his full sanction. On April 19th, Harrison received his final instruction. "The Council finding several pernicious designs carried on by the enemies for disturbing the peace, particularly in North Wales and some northern counties, and that not only by discontented parties there, but also by forces designed from Scotland and the Isle of Man, appoint you a commander-in-chief with a competent force to endeavour to prevent the danger designed. To that end, you are to repair with all speed to the body of horse now in or near Lancaster, under Colonel Rich ; and upon your arrival, you are to continue with you three troops of your own regiment of horse, and send back Colonel Rich with his three troops to the eastern association for further orders. You are also to receive into your charge the rest of the forces under Colonel Rich, as also such other forces as Council shall send out of the militia forces, so as to make up those under your command to 2500, and with them, and such other of the forces in the garrisons of North Wales, counties

Stafford, Chester, Derby, Notts, and York as you shall find necessary—having regard to the safety of the garrisons—you are to take care of those parts, and prevent all disturbance of the peace, by suppressing all insurrections and opposing any attempt of the enemy from the Isle of Man, Scotland, or any other place."

He had now to see that not only the army in Scotland, but also the army in Ireland, were well supplied with reinforcements. The Irish service was by no means popular.

"May 8th, 1651. The Council of State informs Major-General Harrison that Parliament has appointed 1000 men to be impressed for Ireland. That these men may not run away or do any mischief in their march or while they wait for transportation, you are to give orders to such forces as you shall judge necessary to bring them to their port, and guard them there till shipped off."

On further consideration it was decided that Colonel Rich, commanding in the east, should have his head-quarters as near as Leicester, to be ready to meet any emergency that should present itself, and to keep in close touch with his superior Harrison.

By the 30th of May Harrison had reached Lancaster, having traversed all the counties under his control. Government supplied him liberally in answer to his demands. On June 7th a number of horse, with pack saddles, were sent down to carry ammunition. On the same day of June, surgeons' chests were sent to him, and on June 30th 500 "backs, breasts and pots," to be stored under his control. The Council of State was well satisfied with the way the work was done, and writes to him as follows :—

"July 22nd, 1651. We have received yours as to the disposal of your forces, and that you are about going to headquarters, and intimating what you had done in giving encouragement to some well-affected in Lancashire, Staffordshire, and North and South Wales, to enlist and suppress any insurrection at their own charge; we approve thereof, it being very reasonable that those whose fidelity and willingness to preserve themselves and the public peace at their own charges should not be left without the means to do it—so as it may not leave a foundation of further charge to the public."

Meanwhile Harrison was in conference with Cromwell as to how the campaign in Scotland was to be carried on. Strongly entrenched in the neighbourhood of Stirling, the Scots under the command of General Leslie had refused battle for several months, and it appeared as if the campaign would drag itself out through the whole summer, unless some bold step were taken to compel them to fight. This was simple enough in one way, seeing Cromwell could easily transport his army to the north of Stirling and cut off all the supplies from Fife and Perth, on which the Scots depended. But in carrying out this manœuvre, he would be obliged to leave the way into England open to the Scottish army, for he had not enough troops under his control to constitute two armies when his force was divided, each army strong enough to oppose the Scots. The risk was somewhat serious.

On July 15th Cromwell began to move troops into Fifeshire, at the same time summoning Harrison to a private conference at Edinburgh. At their conference,

held on July 23rd, 1651, most daring plans were proposed and accepted. It was decided that Cromwell should march to the north of the Scottish army, and leave open to them the road to England, in the hope that they would march southward, and finally encounter the full muster of the English army, including the troops of Cromwell and Harrison, and even those quartered round London under the command of General Fleetwood. The bait was eagerly taken by the Scots; they believed that a great number of Englishmen in the northern counties would enlist under the banner of the King, if once he showed himself in England.

On July 31st, 1651, the Scottish army began its march southward. The whole machinery of Cromwell's organisation was at once put into motion. Harrison with a strong force of cavalry and dragoons hindered the King's advance, Lambert with another strong force hung upon his rear. Every day fresh troops provided by the militia committees poured into the camps of the two generals, and though they were short of infantry, and were thus incapable as well as unwilling to give him battle, they made his advance very slow; while Fleetwood marched from the south and Cromwell from the north heading a force of infantry large enough to crush him with ease.

The plan was apparently not communicated in full to the Council of State, but some inkling of it had been given to the leaders which enabled them to speak with confidence. They informed Colonel Wauton that "The Scots army is taking the opportunity of ours being in Fife, and is marching southward. Harrison is about Berwick, with 4000 horse and dragoons;

we have written to the militia northward to draw what horse and foot they have to a rendezvous in their several counties, ready for orders, and wish you to order the regiment we wrote about with speed to Stamford, the rendezvous formerly appointed, to be there in readiness for orders from Parliament, Council, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood or Major-General Harrison. The army now in Fife will soon be on their rear, yet we thought it fit to have what force we can ready to join Harrison, and give impediment to their advance; use your best diligence. We hope their march southward will tend much to shorten this work, and would use all means in this conjuncture to promote it; we again commend this particular to your utmost care."

On August 7th, 1651, the Council of State writes to Major-General Harrison: "We have received yours giving notice of the Scots' march southward; we thought fit to give you notice, that you may know whither to direct your orders, as you shall have occasion to make use of the forces sent for the public safety. God will still appear in this work, with His own arm to save, to whom it is alike to deliver by many or by few, and when He pleaseth without the help of man. We desire to hear frequently of your own and the enemy's motion."

Even as far as Surrey, Buckinghamshire, and Devonshire men were being drawn together to strengthen the army of Fleetwood, and to make sure that should the Scots escape from Harrison and Lambert they would find a sufficient army ready to cover London.

On August 11th, 1651, the Council of State writes to

Major-General Harrison: "We received yours from Newcastle with the enclosures; by ours you will see that we have written to all the counties you had written to, except those of North Wales, to be in readiness with what force they possibly could to receive your commands, and have now written to all the other militias in the way towards you to be also ready. We have also caused Colonel Gibbons' regiment, and five companies of Colonel Barkstead's under Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbett, being a full thousand, to march to Northampton to receive further orders, and have directed Colonel Barkstead to make up his regiment to 2000 again. Meantime some of the volunteer forces of London will help to supply the guard. We have appointed the three regiments of volunteers to rendezvous this week with Colonel Barkstead's regiment, and the horse of the guard, and some volunteer horse will make a considerable party. We have also sent for Major-General Skippon to take care of the city, whom we intend this day to excite to a speedy and effectual levy for their own defence."

But the Council of State could hardly suppress nervous anxiety as to the success of the expedition.

On August 18th, 1651, the Council of State writes to Cromwell: "We have seen yours to Sir Henry Vane, also to Council, from near Whittingham, and are confident you will lose no time to overtake the army.

"In what posture to the enemy the forces with Major-General Lambert and Harrison are, you will best hear from themselves. We have used our utmost diligence to put all things here into the best posture,

and we enclose a copy of the report made thereof to Parliament yesterday.

"Although we do not doubt but that Harrison has got into their van, and Lambert has been already a day or two upon their rear, whereby they will be necessitated to make slow marches, until you shall overtake them, and that there will be a speedy and full end of that army, and thereby no great difficulty to finish what remains, we have yet—for the greater security of these parts, and to discourage any of their party to make diversion or give disturbance to the public peace—appointed a rendezvous at Barnet on Tuesday next, of 2000 horse and 8000 foot, besides what we may expect from the city of London and parts adjacent, and besides volunteers, which we did not reckon in the former account. We find the city in a very good and complying temper, and ready to act anything they shall be directed for the public and their own safety; and we conceive the party of the Scots will be afraid to show themselves. As to the money, care will be taken to send it to such place as you shall appoint, on return of the bearer; as we conceive you will have marched too far from Hull to receive it from thence, we know of no strong place on the way where to lodge it until it may come to you."

On August 16th the Scottish army reached Warrington Bridge, to find it guarded by the united forces of Lambert and Harrison, who, however, refused battle, and allowed the Scottish army to pass. They considered the country was not suitable for cavalry, and their force was almost entirely mounted. But there was probably a still more weighty reason; that

they desired to draw the Scottish army into the very heart of England, where it could be entirely overwhelmed. Already they were leaving forces behind them (Colonel Robert Lillburne, for instance, was quartered in Manchester), and these would make retreat impossible, and thus the Scots would be exposed to a battle against double their number of well-trained English troops.

On August 18th Cromwell had crossed the Tyne, and was in full march southward. After passing Warrington the King made a faint attempt to gain possession of Shrewsbury, which would have opened to him the road into Wales. Baulked at Shrewsbury, he decided to make for Worcester, passing through Congleton, Stoke, Stone and Lichfield. He entered Worcester on the 22nd, and a few days later Cromwell, with Lambert and Harrison, who had joined him on the march, arrived on the left bank of the Severn.

The great plan was proving itself to be thoroughly successful. From Scotland came the news of how the capable Monk left in command by Cromwell with sufficient forces, had compelled Stirling to surrender, had stormed Dundee, and had almost reduced Scotland to absolute submission. The only remaining Scottish army was cooped up in Worcester, far away from their homes, and against it the forces of the English counties were now mustering from every side.

The battle of Worcester was fought on September 3rd, 1651. A successfully combined attack from the east and from the south resulted in a brilliant and almost bloodless victory. But Harrison, apparently, had no share in the actual battle; he was kept in reserve during the fight, and then dispatched to the

north to take charge of the pursuit of the Scottish army. So hotly did he chase the unhappy fugitives, who were trying to fly to Scotland, that fifty men of the defeated army were ready to surrender to two or three of the victors, and all resistance was absolutely broken down. Most of the enemy, including nearly all their leaders, were taken, and the Scottish army, which had marched so confidently into England, was crushed entirely out of existence. The hope that a number of Royalist adherents would join the Scottish army as it marched had proved entirely fallacious. Only one of the great noblemen, the Earl of Derby, had come to the King as he rode into Worcester, and he came almost alone, having seen the forces which he had mustered defeated and scattered by troops from Manchester under the command of Lillburne.

The larger part of the Scottish army were made prisoners, and condemned to confinement or transported. How miserable was the fate of prisoners in the English Republic in those days is well illustrated by Sir Arthur Hazelrigg's report, on the condition of the prisoners taken at Dunbar.

"Gentlemen,—I received your letter, dated the 26th of October; in that you desire me, that 2300 of the Scotch prisoners, now at Durham, or elsewhere, able and fit for foot service, be selected, and marched thence to Chester and Liverpool, to be shipped for the south and west of Ireland, and that I should take special care not to send any Highlanders.

"I am necessitated, upon the receipt of this, to give you a full account concerning the prisoners: after the battle of Dunbar, in Scotland, my Lord General writ to me, that there was about 9000 prisoners; and that

of them he had set at liberty all those that were wounded, and, as he thought, disabled for future service, and their number was, as Mr Downing writ, 5100; the rest the general sent towards Newcastle, conducted to Berwick by Major Hobson, and from Berwick to Newcastle by some foot out of that garrison, and the troop of horse. When they came to Morpeth, the prisoners being put into a large walled garden, they ate up raw cabbages, leaves, and roots, so many, as the very seed and labour, at four pence a day, was valued at nine pounds; which cabbage, as I conceive, they having fasted, as they themselves said, near eight days, poisoned their bodies; for, as they were coming from thence to Newcastle, some died by the wayside; and when they came to Newcastle, I put them into the greatest church in the town: and the next morning, when I sent them to Durham, about seven score were sick, and not able to march, and three died that night, and some fell down in their march from Newcastle to Durham, and died, and when they came to Durham, I having sent my lieutenant-colonel and my major, with a strong guard both of horse and foot, and they being there told into the great cathedral church, they could not count them to more than 3000, although Colonel Fenwick writ to me that there were about 3500; but I believe they were not told at Berwick, and most of those that were lost, it was in Scotland; for I heard that the officers that marched with them to Berwick, were necessitated to kill about thirty, fearing the loss of them all, for they fell down in great numbers, and said they were not able to march; and they brought them far in the

night, so that doutless many ran away. When I sent them first to Durham, I writ to the major, and desired him to take care that they wanted not for anything that was fit for prisoners, and what he should disburse for them I would repay it. I also sent them a daily supply of bread from Newcastle, and an allowance equal to what had been given to former prisoners; but their bodies being infected, the flux increased amongst them. I sent many officers to look to them, and appointed that those that were sick should be removed out of the cathedral church into the bishop's castle, which belongs to Mistress Blakiston, and provided cooks; and they had pottage made with oatmeal, and beef, and cabbages—a full quart at a meal for every prisoner; they had also coals daily brought to them, as many as made about a hundred fires both day and night, and straw to lie upon; and I appointed the marshal to see all these things orderly done; and he was allowed eight men to help him to divide the coals, and their meat, bread, and pottage equally; they were so unruly, sluttish, and nasty, that it is not to be believed; they acted rather like beasts than men; so that the marshal was allowed forty men to cleanse and sweep them every day; but these men were of the lustiest prisoners, that had some small thing given them extraordinary, and these provisions were for those that were in health; and for those that were sick, and in the castle, they had very good mutton broth, and sometimes veal broth, and beef and mutton boiled together, and old women appointed to look to them in the several rooms: there was also a physician, which let them blood, and dressed such as were wounded, and gave the sick physic; and I dare say

confidently, there was never the like care taken for any such number of prisoners that ever were in England. Notwithstanding all this, many of them died, and few of any disease but the flux; some were killed by themselves; for they were exceeding cruel one towards another. If a man was perceived to have any money, it was two to one but he was killed before morning, and robbed; and if any had good clothes, he that wanted, if he was able, would strangle him, and put on his clothes: and the disease of the flux still increasing among them, I was then forced, for their preservation, if possible it might be, to send to all the next towns to Durham, within four or five miles, to command them to bring in their milk, for that was conceived to be the best remedy for stopping of their flux, and I promised them what rates they usually sold it for at the markets; which was accordingly performed by about threescore towns and places; and twenty of the next towns to Durham continue still to send daily in their milk, which is boiled, some with water, and some with bean flower; the physicians holding it exceeding good for recovery of their health.

Gentlemen, you cannot but think strange this long preamble, and to wonder what the matter will be; in short it is this: of the 3000 prisoners that my officers told into the cathedral church at Durham, 300 from thence, and fifty from Newcastle of the seven score left behind, were delivered to Major Clerk, by order of the Council, and there are about 500 sick in the castle, and about 600 yet in health in the cathedral, and most of which are, in probability, Highlanders, they being hardier than the rest, and other means to distinguish them we have not; and

about 1600 are dead and buried, and officers about sixty, that are at the marshal's in Newcastle. My Lord General having released the rest of the officers, and the Council having given me power to take out what I thought fit, I have granted to several well-affected persons that have salt works at Shields, and want servants, forty, and they have engaged to keep them to work at their salt pans ; and I have taken out more than twelve weavers, to begin a trade of linen cloth, like unto the Scotch cloth, and about forty labourers, etc. etc. I am, gentlemen, your affectionate servant, ARTHUR HAZELRIGG."

Such was the pitiful state of prisoners in those days, and many of the Scots taken at Worcester were sent to the Barbadoes and other Plantations, to work as "indentured labourers," in a condition only one degree above slavery.

Directly the campaign of Worcester was finished, the Council of State at once set to work to reduce the heavy military charges, and took the opportunity of getting rid of the 4000 men from the gathered churches who had been enlisted by Harrison. They directed the major-general to carry out their disbandment with all possible promptitude.

On September 13th, 1651, the Council of State writes to Harrison: "In order to ease charge, Parliament has resolved that the 4000 horse and dragoons taken into pay in lieu of the militia shall be disbanded, and have referred it to us to see it done. On advice with the Lord General and his officers, it is found expedient that all in these parts, or with you of the 4000 be disbanded ; we have appointed fourteen days over and above the last assignation,

ending the 22nd inst. to be provided for those with you, which is to be paid in the respective counties where they were raised, and where they are to be sent back to be disbanded. Order all the troops, part of the said 4000 that are marched with you northward in the pursuit, to return to their counties, and send to us and to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood a list of the captains, and the respective counties to which they are sent to be disbanded, that warrants may be granted upon the receiver of assessments of the said counties, for the said fourteen days' pay, and care shall be taken that it be ready for them. For the more due and orderly disposal of the horses and arms, you are to order the respective captains to repair to the militia commisioners, and observe their directions. Return our hearty thanks to the officers and soldiers, for their faithful services, and their forwardness therein."

Harrison carried out the Council's instructions, but evidently felt grave doubt as to their sincerity in supporting the good old cause. In a letter written on the 7th of September 1651, after recounting his proceedings to make the destruction of the Scottish army complete, he ends with an impassioned appeal to them to establish the Reign of Righteousness. "The Lord grant that the Parliament (whom He hath thus further honoured, and owned in the eyes of all the world) may improve this mercy, entrusted to their management, according to the will of God, in establishing the ways of righteousness and justice: yet more relieving of the oppressed, and opening a wide door to the publishing of the everlasting gospel of our only Lord and Saviour, who is worthy to be loved, honoured, exalted, and

admired by all His people; and it will be so, through the Spirit that ye will give them, and all His enemies shall be made His footstool. I commend you to His free grace, which is exceeding abundant towards His poor people, remaining your most humble servant,

"T. HARRISON."

On the 27th of October he was placed on the committee for deciding the fate of the prisoners, and appears to have settled down in London to his regular Parliamentary work. The gift of £12,000 to be voted to him was under discussion in the House on November 18th to the 25th, and on the 25th special payment was made to his friend Vavasour Powell for service under him on the borders of Scotland, and in the pursuit of Charles' army.

The army had now made itself master of Ireland, Scotland and England; no man dared to lift a finger without its consent, but the problem still remained how it could agree to share power with the remnant of the Long Parliament. To Harrison there seemed to be no question but that the Parliament ought to dissolve itself at once, and leave to the Saints the duty of electing its successors. But it was hardly probable that such a plan could be carried without opposition. The sweets of office had been too inviting to the republican party to be surrendered without a struggle.

Chapter VIII

Divisions in the Independent Party

1651-1652

Cromwell and Vane not in full harmony—Distrust of Cromwell—The great problems—St John's Mission to the Hague—Its failure—The Navigation Act—Desire of the Republican Leaders to spread the Gospel in Europe—The fight between Blake and Van Tromp—Weakness of the Dutch Fleet—Suffering in Holland—Parliament decides to dissolve itself—Its record of success.

JUST at the time that Charles II. was starting from Stirling for the march which ended in the fatal battle of Worcester, Vane addressed a letter to his intimate friend General Oliver Cromwell on August 2nd, 1651; he begs Cromwell not to listen to charges and insinuations against him, and then goes on to speak of "principles too high to fathom, which one day, I am persuaded, will not be thought so by you, when by the increasings of God you shall be brought to that enjoyment of God in Christ which passes knowledge, and into which the wonderful appearances of God in these times doth directly lead and tend. . . . My trust in God is very great, as to the perfecting of that work His name is so highly engaged in against the enemy you have to deal with; but when that is over I expect greater trials and difficulties than ever about the right way of settling that by which such a constant series of

successes hath been obtained. For which charges the Lord fit us, and continue your Lordship an instrument in His hands."

In these words we see the cause of that distrust which every now and again showed itself in the relations between Oliver Cromwell and the adherents of the Fifth Monarchy. Vane states, we notice, that he expects great difficulties in coming to the settlement of the nation when peace had been achieved; he is evidently afraid that the settlement may cause violent differences between himself and his friend Cromwell; and the reason why it would be so difficult for them to work together is, that Cromwell even now has not attained to that knowledge of God and that complete guidance of the Spirit which is the happy lot of Vane himself.

What was the sentiment of Vane on such a matter was also the sentiment of Harrison; and all through the succeeding period of a year and a half which intervened between the fight at Worcester and the final rupture between the Parliament and the army, we see every now and then an anxious distrust of the general's movements evinced by Harrison, and we understand that he is puzzled to see his great leader, after all his professions of religion, and his eager assertion of being God's instrument, still waver and hestitate in choosing a direct course of political action. For to Harrison himself, the true and only way in which every genuine servant of God must walk appeared so perfectly evident.

Three great questions there were for solution when peace at last settled down upon England and her two dependencies, Ireland and Scotland.

The first of these was how to spread the knowledge of the true faith throughout the republican dominions themselves.

The second was what should be the machinery by which a new government should be created and maintained to control the three kingdoms.

The third was to formulate a practical scheme defining the duties of the new religious republic towards the nations which lay around her, and which were still in spiritual and political darkness.

As long ago as the spring of 1651, before Harrison left London and took up his command in the north, he and his fellow members of Parliament had sent two of their leaders, Oliver St John the Chief Justice, and Mr Strickland on an embassy to the United Provinces of the Netherlands; and they had proposed that the closest possible alliance should be made between the two great Protestant Powers, who were also the only two possible rivals for the control of the seas, in order to establish the knowledge of the true faith throughout the world.

But religious interests had long ago withered and shrivelled in the money making atmosphere of the Dutch Republic. And the proposals of the two ambassadors seemed to the heads of the Dutch government vague and meaningless, and to belong rather to the domain of mystical religion than to every-day life. St John and Strickland had returned to London disgusted with the coldness of the Dutch, and naturally enraged by the risks which they and their dependents had run from the violent assaults of the refugee cavaliers and their fellow desperadoes at the Hague, who had already murdered one of the Parlia-

mentary envoys to Holland, Dr Dorislaus, as well as Mr Ascham, envoy at the court of Madrid. St John had come back to London with his mind made up that since the Dutch could not be persuaded they should be coerced into an alliance; and a month before Worcester fight a Bill had been laid upon the Table of the House of Commons which was afterwards known as the Navigation Act, and was so constituted as to secure to England a large share of the carrying trade of the world, which was now in the hands of the Dutch.

By this Act no goods were to be brought into England except in ships belonging either to the nationality which had manufactured them, or to England herself, and as the most profitable of all the profitable enterprises of the Dutch was that of carrying goods from nation to nation, the Dutch at once sent over ambassadors to remonstrate against so unfriendly a law, which none the less was passed in October 1651, when the victors of Worcester were returning from their successful campaign.

The answer made to the Dutch Embassy was a long recapitulation of the injuries done to England by the Dutch in the past—beginning with the massacre of Amboyna in the reign of James I., and the troubles at Polaroon; and it was again proposed that the two powers should enter into an alliance both offensive and defensive, and should engage to carry out one common policy. To the earnestly religious men of the new republic, it seemed the most natural thing in the world that nations should combine for the propagation of the gospel. They were as full of enthusiasm as the Frenchmen of 1789; they looked with most profound

mistrust upon the Kings of France and Spain and Sweden, and their compeers; and with pity and contempt upon the states of Italy and Germany, which were ruled, in their opinion, for the good of princes rather than for the good of the people, and whose subjects were enslaved either by the superstitions and tyrannies of religion under the Pope, or by professing the dull and heartless faith to which the beliefs of Calvin and Luther had now dwindled.

The Dutch Republic, which was described by one of its own subjects as a "mountain of gold," could see nothing beautiful in the proposed alliance to the glory of God through the manifestation of Christ and under the guidance of the Spirit. The consequence of this want of sympathy, combined with the need to occupy the minds of the English people which Vane and his friends in Parliament now found to be a necessarily predominant motive in politics, was a speedy collision in the narrow seas between the Dutch fleet under Van Tromp, and the English fleet under a newly-appointed admiral who was soon to become famous as Admiral Robert Blake. How far Harrison had a share in the warfare with the Dutch it is impossible to say; the actual management of this affair fell into the hands principally of Sir Henry Vane; but we do know that the Dutch believed that Harrison was one of their most bitter foes, and that they largely attributed to his influence over Cromwell the failure of that general to insist upon arrangements of peace between the two Republics.

The result of the struggle when it came was a matter of no doubt, The fleet of England was composed largely of ships built specially for warfare, amongst which the most notable was the *Sovereign of*

the Seas, constructed under the direction of Charles I. in 1637. The feebler and slighter vessels of the Dutch, with their much smaller guns, and their ammunition and stores insufficiently provided by the carelessness of the Dutch Admiralty commissioners, had (so Van Tromp declared) no real chance against their English enemies. "Thirty of our ships," he stated, "are not fit to be in the service of the fleet, and there are more than fifty ships in the English fleet which are better than the best of mine." One defeat indeed he inflicted upon General Blake, and he held control over the Channel for a few weeks. Blake, supported by two new admirals in the special confidence of Cromwell, Generals Monk and Deane, finally drove him from the narrow seas, and reduced the once flourishing commerce of Holland to a pitiable condition. There were 1500 to 2000 houses empty in Amsterdam; everywhere the factories were closed. De Witt, the most prominent statesman in Holland, writes: "The outgoing fleet to the Baltic has been prevented from going out for six weeks and more, and all other ships also continue lying within our ports. Six of the Baltic traders have fallen into the hands of the English: the ships from the Mediterranean, etc., we fear, with reason, will fall into the enemy's hands. Nobody is loading ships to go out; the herring fishery stands still; rye and grain begin rapidly to rise in price; thousands of men have neither work nor food, and turn themselves to plundering and robbing. All the disasters are generally ascribed to the bad management of the Government."

England insisted on forming an Alliance with the Dutch before it would grant terms of peace; and the practical Cromwell demanded that before any negotia-

tions were opened, reparation should be made for the Dutch outrages of the past, and instigated by Harrison and his friends, he said, "Above all, what must be first thought of were the essential points tending to the preservation of freedom, and the outspreading of the kingdom of Christ; not for themselves only, but for posterity, in order that the treaty built on such a foundation might be permanent and inviolable; that it had often happened, that after a quarrel friendship became faster and stronger than before; and that neither of them knew what God the Lord for the magnifying of His holy name, and the delivery of so many oppressed nations, who now more than ever groaned under the tyranny, might intend to accomplish by the two Republics in His own good time."

The settlement of the constitution of the new Republic was even more perplexing than the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts. Immediately after Worcester, the House of Commons, whose sitting members did not often exceed sixty, had passed a resolution that they would dissolve themselves in three years time; but as the weeks went on, this by no means satisfied the wishes of the army. The army felt that the leaders of the House had made for themselves very favourable positions, and that Parliament was doing very little for the real improvement of society at home. At last the discontent came to a head. After many conferences and prayer meetings amongst the officers, a petition was presented to Parliament signed by six colonels, all of them close friends of Cromwell, asking for an immediate dissolution. In the meantime, Cromwell was himself inclined to believe that the best settlement would be the establish-

ment of a single person to rule the country, probably with the title of king; and he even went so far as to suggest to Whitelocke, one of the commissioners of the great seal, that he himself should take the title of king, and that a change of dynasty would be no great wonder in the history of English politics.

Meanwhile Harrison had found his special sphere of activity in the principality of Wales, where he was still President of the Commission for the Propagation of the Gospel. He had now become a wealthy man, and was enjoying the valuable appointment of Master-General of the Ordnance. He and his fellow commissioners had expelled a great number of clergymen from Welsh livings, on the plea that they were disloyal or inefficient, they had taken into their hands the tithes of the principality, reckoned to be worth some £60,000, and had in many ways violently offended the feelings of large numbers of Welshmen. A widely signed petition was presented to Parliament in the spring of 1653, when the time came to renew the powers of the commission, and by a large majority the commission was dissolved, to the great annoyance of Harrison and his friends, who loudly expressed their opinion that Parliament was acting corruptly.

By April 1653 practically no progress had been made in the solution of the problems which agitated men's minds, and everywhere the people were asking for some violent change which would bring to the front men who would carry out the alterations which were needed in English law and customs. But Vane, and still more the other leaders of the Long Parliament, thought it enough answer to point to a record of extraordinary success. They had carried on triumph-

antly a maritime war against the nation which was supposed to have the best navy in Europe. They had for a time united the outlying kingdom of Scotland as well as that of Ireland to the English empire. They had thoroughly policed the various districts of England and never had that country been more prosperous. Why should they make room for any other set of men who surely would do the work less well, running after impossible theories of the propagation of the gospel? To them it seemed all important that in the forming of the new Parliament their own seats should be distinctly secured by the law of the land.

Chapter IX

The Overthrow of the Long Parliament

1653 (January-April)

Precarious position of the Republican Leaders—Definite plans of Harrison—The Bill for the new representation, under the charge of (1) Harrison and (2) Vane—Harrison definitely in the minority—Proposals for the Propagation of the Gospel—Threatened curtailment of Religious freedom—Intentions of Cromwell—Milton's and Cromwell's opinion of the Members of Parliament—Lambert and Harrison push Cromwell onward—Conference of April 19th—Dissolution on April 20th.

IN the early days of 1653, the leaders of the nation, whether the prominent members of Parliament, or the officers of the army, must have felt more than ever before the precarious nature of their position. The few scattered men who still sat upon the benches of the House of Commons were by the smallness of their numbers the most eloquent witnesses to the loss of that great phalanx of orators and statesmen, who had at one time or another held the leadership in the revolutionised state, and who had severally fallen from power.

The Long Parliament had begun by being unanimous in its proceedings for the reform of the nation. Then there developed itself a strong Royalist party, growing

to be almost half of the members of the House. This party had come into prominence, had played a great part in the history of the nation, and had vanished away.

But many of their opponents had not long survived them. Again the House had divided itself into two sides, the Presbyterians and the Independents; and for long it had seemed that the Presbyterians would succeed in developing their own ideas, political and ecclesiastical, within the realm of England. Finally, the Independents had called in the help of the army, and by the use of violence had driven the leaders of their rivals into exile. Of the Independents in their turn many had been expelled, as being out of harmony with the opinions of the army. Now there were almost as many parties as there were members in the House, each man seemed to seek his own, and to be striving for personal wealth and power. The picture given us by Milton of the behaviour and purposes of the still surviving members exposes in ugly and discordant colours the motives for which they worked. No one could feel any confidence that he would retain power the next week or month; and the student who tries to classify the political combinations of the more prominent members, finds himself again and again puzzled and troubled as he attempts to see cause for the failure of alliances which would have been natural, but were never duly consummated. And he is confused by the changes rapid as a kaleidoscope, by which there were formed fleeting majorities of the House.

Even Cromwell himself more than once heard rumours of plots to supersede him in his office as

general of the army. Even Sir Henry Vane, the most dexterous of politicians and the most experienced in the characters and the purposes of his rivals in the Commons and in the army, failed to walk successfully over the slippery slopes of the revolution, become so dangerous to the leaders.

Perhaps of all the men whose influence we can trace in the early months of 1653, no one was more definite in his plans and efforts than Major-General Harrison, who still kept before his eyes, at least in his own confident imagination, the establishment of the reign of the Saints upon earth. He was clear that the Saints were not to be found in the Long Parliament, whose remnant still governed the country. He was most desirous to impose upon the Dutch the same yoke which had already been securely fixed upon the necks of the Irish and the Scotch. He had elaborated a definite system, by which the government of the country could really be handed over to the Saints, and lie at the mercy of the small group of advanced religious thinkers who had been formed by their leaders into "gathered churches." He had already worked his will in Wales, using all his influence on the commission for the expulsion of unsatisfactory ministers, and the appointment of men according to his own heart. Though sometimes selfish purposes show themselves for a moment as influencing his actions, still he could have made out a fair case for himself as a consistent upholder of the Fifth Monarchy; and the rumour which his adversaries whispered about—that he had asserted the need of something monarchical in the government of the land, and which they twisted into meaning that he himself would be the monarch, is

more naturally explained to mean the sinking of all personal claims before the supreme authority of Christ, who would rule as an almost visible monarch.

On January the 6th, 1653, Harrison was appointed to take care of the Bill "touching an equal Representative," and to see that the "same be brought in speedily." Everybody knew his proclivities, and felt he was perfectly determined how the next Parliament should be constituted. There would be no trifling in his decisive action. Any plans for the election of the new House of Commons by the ordinary electors, voting in the ordinary constituencies, had no share in his intentions. He accepted, no doubt, the arrangement by which the number of voters in each constituency had been made comparatively equal. But he meant to insist upon pledges from electors that they were duly called to be Saints before they were allowed to exercise their functions. Thus the only persons admitted to the vote, would be the members of the "gathered churches."

But this plan of his was acceptable only to a minority of the House. The rest were determined that, come what might, continuity of government should be ensured by their own retention of their seats without any election whatever, and that they would only allow such a number of new members to enter the House as would leave them the power of future control.

Aud thus it came about that his supremacy in the House was only momentary, and before the month of January was finished, he was out-voted in a matter very near to his heart. He had proposed that a certain Mr Dell, well-known as a Fifth Monarchy

preacher, should "be desired to preach and pray before the House." This proposal was rejected by a majority of twenty-eight to twenty-six ; and a moderate Independent, Mr Philip Nye, was invited to take the vacant place a few days later. It was resolved, however, in accordance with the major-general's wishes, that Friday in every week be set apart by the House to take into consideration matters of religion. These "matters of religion" were being considered by the Committee for religion, of which he was a prominent member, and shared his anxious superintendence with the work of the Committee for the election of the new House, of the Committee for the relief of the poor, and of the Committee for the simplification and curtailment of all legal proceedings.

Shortly after this, Vane was appointed to take his place as the reporter of the Committee for the elections, while at the same time the House refused to endow again with its great and merciless powers that commission for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, of which we have heard so much, and over which Harrison had for so long presided. But though on the whole Harrison found it difficult to secure a majority for his views in the House of Commons, he now felt he had always at his back, in most of the matters which mainly interested him, the more active officers of the army ; and when Mr Scott, one of the most advanced of the members, brought in the report from the Committee appointed to receive proposals for the Propagation of the Gospel, these proposals were strongly supported by a petition from the officers. A study of these proposals reported to the House on February 11th, 1653, shows us sufficiently clearly

what was the aim and purpose of the more advanced men who sat in the House of Commons.

The proposals thus reported were in these words:

"1. That persons of godliness and gifts, of the universities, and others, though not ordained may be admitted to preach the gospel, and receive the public maintenance, being approved when they are called thereunto.

"2. That no person shall be admitted to trial or approbation, unless he bring a testimonial of his piety and soundness in the faith, under the hands of six godly ministers and Christians, gathered together for that purpose, unto whom he is personally known; of which number two at the least to be ministers.

"3. That a certain number of persons, ministers, and others of eminency, and known ability and godliness, be appointed to sit in every county to examine, judge, and approve all such persons as being called to preach the gospel, have received testimonials as above, and in case there shall not be found a competent number of such persons in the same county, that others of one or more neighbour counties be joined to them.

"4. That care be taken for removing the residue of ministers who are ignorant, scandalous, non-residents, or disturbers of the public peace; and likewise of all schoolmasters who shall be found popish, scandalous, or disaffected to the government of this Commonwealth.

"5. That to this end, a number of persons, ministers and others of eminent piety, zeal, faithfulness, ability, and prudence be appointed by authority of Parliament to go through the nation, to enquire after, examine, judge of, and eject all such persons as shall be found

unfit for the ministry or for teaching schools, being such persons as above are described.

"6. That for expediting this work, these persons may be assigned in several companies or committees, to the six circuits of the nation, to reside in each of the counties for such a convenient space of time as may be requisite until the work be done, calling to their assistance in their respective circuits, such godly and able persons, ministers, and others in each of the counties, where they shall then reside, to assist them in this work as they shall think fit; that these persons, so sent and commissionated may be empowered, before they shall depart out of each county, to return and to represent to the Parliament, the names of fit and sufficient persons, ministers and others, to be appointed approvers of such as shall be called to preach the gospel in such counties; and that in the meantime, the persons so commissionated, as aforesaid, shall have power where they reside in each county, to examine, judge, and approve of such persons, as having a call to preach the gospel in such county, shall upon such testimonial as aforesaid, offer themselves to such examination.

"7. That it be proposed that the Parliament be pleased to take some speedy and effectual course, either by empowering the persons in the several counties to be appointed for trial and approbation of such persons as shall be called to preach the gospel there, or in such other way as they shall think fit, for the uniting and dividing of parishes in the several counties and cities within this Commonwealth, in reference to the preaching of the gospel there, saving the civil rights and privileges of each parish.

"8. That the ministers, so sent forth and established,

be enjoined and required to attend the solemn worship of God, in prayer, reading, and preaching the Word, catechising, expounding the Scriptures, and, as occasion shall require, visiting the sick, and instructing from house to house, residing among the people to whom they are sent, and using all care and diligence by all ways and means to win souls to Christ.

"9. That, as it is desired that no persons be required to receive the sacraments further than their sight shall lead them unto, so, no person sent forth to preach, and already placed, or which shall be placed in any parish within this nation, be compelled to administer the sacraments to any but such as he shall approve of as fit for the same.

"10. That a law may be provided, that all persons whatsoever within this nation be required to attend unto the public preaching of the gospel, and other religious exercises there, every Lord's Day in places commonly allowed and usually called churches, except such persons as through scruples of conscience do abstain from these assemblies; provided that this liberty be not understood to exempt persons profanely, or otherwise wickedly employed in the time of the aforesaid exercises.

"11. That whereas divers persons are not satisfied to come to the public places of hearing the Word upon this account, that those places were dedicated and consecrated; that the Parliament will be pleased to declare that such places are made use of, and continued only for the better conveniency of persons meeting together for the public worship of God, and upon no other consideration."

Besides these eleven proposals, there were two more

brought before the Committee, and by it rejected; which severely limited the freedom of opinion in religion. When the report was made to the House, it decided to take these two also into consideration, side by side with the other eleven. Their acceptance would be a severe blow to the freedom of conscience and liberty of opinion, which Harrison and his associates demanded for their own followers and the other smaller and more enthusiastic sects.

The rejected proposals were:—

"12. That all persons dissenting to the doctrine and way of worship owned by the State, or consenting thereunto, and yet not having the advantage or opportunity of some of the public meeting places, commonly called churches, be required to meet (if they have any constant meeting) in places publicly known, and to give notice to some Magistrate of such their places of ordinary meetings.

"13. That this honourable Committee be desired to propose to the Parliament that such as do not receive but oppose those principles of Christian religion without the acknowledgment whereof the Scriptures do clearly and plainly affirm, that salvation is not to be obtained (as those persons formerly complained of by the ministers) may not be suffered to preach or promulgate anything in opposition to such principles, and further that the Parliament be humbly desired to take some speedy and effectual course for the utter suppressing of the abominable cheat of judicial astrology, whereby the minds of multitudes are corrupted and turned aside from dependency upon the providence of God, to put their trust in their lies and delusions of Satan."

This thirteenth proposition contains a terrible proof of the ugly growth of superstition in the last few years throughout the nation, of which Clarendon also writes most emphatically. On the larger question the outcome of the debate was a resolution "that on this day fortnight the House should take into consideration what duty lies upon the magistrate for the propagation of the gospel, and by what means he ought to proceed in it." The debate was resumed on February 15th, and it was then decided "that a Magistrate has power in matters of religion for the propagation of the gospel," and it was further decided that the two proposals should be immediately proceeded with. The party of Harrison was left in a marked minority.

Little time, however, was found for further discussion on this subject, for the Commons were now hastening through the necessary alterations of the electoral laws, and were much more concerned to make sure of their own future power than to carry out the reforms of the Church. At all events, in the succeeding days, Harrison found himself more and more distinctly in a minority in the Commons, and became more and more desirous for the expulsion of the present House.

But could he persuade General Oliver Cromwell to join with him? Without the General he could hardly hope to succeed in his plans. Cromwell's opinion of the character of the remnant of the Long Parliament is shown in his speech of a few months later before the Little Parliament.

"If anybody was in competition for any place of real and signal trust, if any really public interest was at stake in that Parliament, how hard and difficult a

matter was it to get anything carried without making parties — without practices indeed unworthy of a Parliament! When things must be carried so in a Supreme Authority, indeed I think it is not as it ought to be, to say no worse. Then, when we come to other trials, as in that case of Wales, 'of establishing a preaching ministry in Wales,' which, I must confess for my own part, I set myself upon, if I should relate what discountenance that business of the poor people of God there had (who had men watching over them like so many wolves, ready to catch the lambs so soon as they were brought forth into the world); how signally that business was trodden under foot 'in Parliament,' to the discountenancing of the honest people, and the countenancing of the Malignant Party, of this Commonwealth —I need but say it was so. For many of you know and by sad experience have felt it to be so. And somebody I hope will, at leisure, better impart to you the state of that business of Wales—which really, to myself and officers, was as plain a trial of their spirits 'the Parliament's spirits,' as anything — it being known to many of us that God had kindled a seed there, indeed hardly to be paralleled since the primitive time.

"I would these had been all the instances we had! Finding, however, which way the spirits of men went, finding that good was never intended to the people of God, I mean the large comprehension of them, under the several forms of godliness in this nation; finding, I say, that all tenderness was forgotten to the good people (though it was by their hands and their means, under the blessing of God, that those sat where they

did) we thought this very bad requittal! I will not say they were come to an utter inability of working reformation, though I might say so in regard to one thing: the reformation of the Law, so much groaned under the posture it now is in."

And that this was his reasoned opinion, we can see by a reference to the writings of Milton, whose admiration for the great statesman never flagged. In Milton's history of England, book iii., we read: "But when once the superficial zeal and popular fumes that actuated their new magistracy were cooled and spent in them, straight every one took himself, setting the Commonwealth behind and his private aims before, to do as his own profits led him. . . . Some who had been called from shops and warehouses without other merit to sit in supreme Council and Committees, as their breeding was, set to huckster the Commonwealth. Their votes and ordinances which men looked should have contained the repealing of bad laws and the immediate constitution of better, resounded with nothing else but new impositions, taxes, excises, yearly, monthly, weekly, not to reckon the offices, gifts and preferments bestowed among themselves. . . . And now, besides the sweetness of bribery, and other gain, with the love of rule, their own guiltiness, and the dreaded name of just account, which the people had long called for, discovered plainly that there were of their own number who secretly contrived and promoted these troubles and combustions in the land which openly they set to remedy, and would continually find such work as should keep them from ever being brought to that terrible stand of laying down their authority for lack of new business, or not drawing it

out to any length of time, though upon the ruin of a whole nation. And if the State were in this plight, religion were not much better; these conscientious men, ere any part of the work was done, for which they came together, and that on the public salary, wanted not boldness, to the ignominy and scandal of their pastor-like profession, and specially of their boasted reformation, to seize into their hands or not unwillingly to accept, besides one or sometimes two or more of the best Livings, Collegiate Masterships in the Universities, rich lectureships in the city, setting sail to all winds that might blow gain to their covetous bosoms."

Cromwell, as his words show, was profoundly moved by the failure of the Parliament to support Harrison in his work for the propagation of the gospel in Wales, and made no concealment to Harrison of his indignation at their proceedings; he agreed with his friend "that he was fully persuaded that they had not the heart to do any good for the Lord and His people." On the whole, Cromwell was still eager for the establishment of the rule of the Saints on earth, though he never went as far as Harrison, who, under the persuasive eloquence of Feake and Vavasour Powell, was now immediately expecting the appearance of the Fifth Monarchy, which he believed Daniel to have prophesied when he said, "the Saints shall take the kingdom and possess it." Cromwell never had the same absolute blind confidence in the certain success of the reign of the Saints as inspired Harrison and his friends. The general shrank from any definite action; he could not see his way to any logical principle of government when once the remains of the

Long Parliament should be swept away; and he complained bitterly that "he was pushed on by two parties to do that, the consideration of the issue whereof made his hair stand on end."

These two parties were evidently those that were headed respectively by Lambert and by Harrison; Lambert's party being purely military, Harrison's being partly military and partly civil; since Harrison leant as much on the "gathered churches" as on the military Saints. The military Saints were indispensable to any revolutionary movement, they adored Harrison and were ready to carry out his bidding at any moment, so completely did he control them. A good authority writes, in March 1653, "the army is divided into two factions, that of Cromwell and that of Harrison; that of Cromwell supports the existing government, but Harrison intends to put the government into other hands and to rout the present members of Parliament." "Harrison's faction," he affirms, "is much the stronger."

Cromwell, therefore, was believed by public opinion to be of uncertain mind as to the next step in settling the government of the country. He desired to retain that shadow of legality which was still furnished to him by the small relics of the Long Parliament, now constantly reduced in their voting strength to barely more than fifty. At the same time he could not endure the proposal that the new Parliament instead of being chosen by the electors should be a mere continuation of the Parliament now sitting. More and more difficult he found it to resist the impetus which threatened to push him over the brink, and in which the military followers of Lambert and the chosen



SIR HENRY VANE.

(From the engraving by Houbraken after the painting by Lely.)

Saints of Harrison joined in hurrying him to irrevocable action. He determined to use his long intimacy with Sir Henry Vane, and Sir Henry Vane's leading colleagues, in order to bring about an agreement between them and the officers of the army. He was resolved that no loop-hole should be left in the election of the new Parliament for the admission of Presbyterians or members of any other bodies who had refused to agree with the policy of the Independents. He was seriously anxious lest the army should turn him out of office and put Harrison into his place, or lest the Long Parliament should at last summon up its courage, and restore Fairfax to the generalship. In the first days of April it was evident to all that he was trying to effect a compromise between the two extreme parties, and to bring together the leaders on both sides. At his lodgings at Whitehall, on the afternoon of the 19th of April 1653, it was settled by the leaders that while they continued to aim at a compromise, they should for the moment suspend the progress of the Bill for a new Parliament.

But the very next morning, April 20th, Cromwell was informed as he sat in counsel with a few of his friends, that the House had actually taken up the consideration of the Bill again, and was making quick work with it. The message it appears came from Harrison, who was earnestly warning the members of the House of Commons that they were running a most deadly risk of the forcible dissolution of Parliament. Giving himself no time to put on his uniform, and clothed in his rough morning apparel of plain black with grey worsted stockings, Cromwell hurried into the House, calling on his way Colonel Worsley

and a force of soldiers to support him in any necessary action. The soldiers he left at the door of the House of Commons, and went to his seat, summoning Harrison to sit by him. After listening for some time to the arguments, he suggested to Harrison that the moment was come for the dissolution. Harrison afterwards pleaded that he tried to prevent this, or at least to delay any decisive movement. It will never be quite possible to make sure what exact part Harrison played in this fatal moment. Speaking to Ludlow some three years later, he naturally attributes to Cromwell as much of the responsibility as he honestly could; for it was one of his arguments on the day of his trial that he was in all things obedient to the Parliament as the authority *de facto* in the land of England. He told Ludlow that when the crisis actually came, he tried to persuade Cromwell to delay; but the general opinion of the public undoubtedly was that he played as prominent a part in the dissolution of the Long Parliament as in the execution of the King.

When the Speaker put the question that this Bill be passed, Cromwell turned to Harrison, and said, "this is the time, I must do it." He rose in his place, and opened his speech with high praise of the Parliament for its pains and its care of the public good. Then he launched forth into a series of accusations against the men who sat round him, as having basely failed in their trust from greed and selfishness; he accused them of now determining to prolong their power for their own gain and advantage by this Bill which they had proposed. More and more angry he grew, as he moved from his seat in his

eagerness; he clapped on his hat, and strode up and down the House, uttering vehement accusations against the Independent members. "Some of you," he said, "are whoremongers," as he looked at Martin and Wentworth; "others are drunkards; and some corrupt men and scandalous to the profession of the gospel. It is not fit for you as a Parliament to sit any longer. You have sat long enough unless you had done more good."

Sir Peter Wentworth rose to complain of his language. "Come, come," said Cromwell, "I will put an end to your prating. You are no Parliament, I say you are no Parliament. I will put an end to your sitting. Call them in, call them in." The last words were addressed to Harrison, who at once obeyed orders, and into the House trooped a body of musketeers led by Worsley. "This," said Vane, "is not honest, yea, it is against morality and common honesty." But Cromwell turned fiercely upon him—he still believed him to have been guilty of a breach of faith in hurrying on the Bill in the early hours of the session—"Oh, Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane, the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane." The friendship of the two great statesmen had collapsed at last under the strain of their respective ambitions. Harrison took the hand of the Speaker, and led him down from the chair, "with a grace and dignity," said the French envoy in London, "of a gentleman handing down a lady from her seat." Algernon Sidney, who refused to move, was also compelled to leave the House. And Cromwell took the mace, saying, "We have done with this bauble; here," to Captain Scott, "take it away." It was carried away to Worsley's lodgings.

As the members passed him, Cromwell fiercely addressed them. "It is you," he said, "that have forced me to do this, for I have sought the Lord night and day that He would rather slay me, than put me to the doing of this work." He caught up the Bill on the elections, had the doors locked, and returned to his lodging. That afternoon he paid a visit to the Council Chamber, where Bradshaw was presiding, and told them that the Parliament was dissolved, and that their commission was terminated with it. "Sir," Bradshaw answered him, "we have heard what you did at the House, and in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it; but, sir, you are mistaken to think that the Parliament is dissolved, for no power under heaven can dissolve them but them selves; therefore take you notice of that."

Chapter X

The Supremacy of the Fifth Monarchy Party

1653 (April-July)

Joy at the destruction of the Long Parliament—Changed Constitution—The army and the navy—Blake's wound renders navy powerless—Harrison's influence in the army—His opportunity come—Supported by the "gathered churches"—The "gathered churches" as electors—Lambert's opposition—Cromwell decides for Harrison—Harrison's plans—The 144—Cromwell's opening speech—Lord Clarendon's account of the new Parliament—Cromwell's high expectations of the work of the new Parliament.

HARRISON stood now on a pinnacle of glory and power, which seemed to afford him every opportunity for carrying out his great purposes. Everywhere his name was coupled with that of Cromwell, as the agent of God, in the deliverance of the nation from the oppressions of the Long Parliament, which are recorded by one of the Bedfordshire "gathered churches" in a letter to the central government. "We have fresh upon our hearts the sad oppression we have so long groaned under from the late Parliament." He held in his hands the control of a number of partisans more potent than those whom any other leader controlled, and the one difficulty in his way appeared to be the

personal influence and authority of the General Oliver Cromwell himself.

The old constitution of the English kingdom had been entirely swept away: most of the leading men in the country who exercised any authority had signed an agreement which abrogated the office of King, and the existence of the House of Lords. The House of Commons itself had been reduced to very small proportions by the drastic measures of the army, and its division lists had showed to all the nation the feebleness of its numbers. Of the armed forces which were likely to be of account in framing the future political life of England, the army had been the chief instigator in carrying out the last revolution, while the navy, by a strange combination of circumstances, had lost the power of making itself felt at the very moment when a blow was struck against the Parliament. The great battle of Portland Bill on February 18th to 20th, 1653, had established the supremacy of the English fleet in the Channel, over the ships of war which Van Tromp had commanded. In that battle, Admiral Blake, or as he was usually styled General Blake, had been so seriously wounded that he was unable to take any part in public affairs for some weeks, and the whole control of the fleet had therefore fallen into the hands of Generals Deane and Monk. Both were ardent supporters of General Oliver Cromwell; Monk especially was absolutely indifferent to forms of government so long as the work of governing was done. On hearing of the expulsion of the Parliament, these two Generals promptly issued a letter to be signed by the Captains of the fleet, in which they promised to take no part in politics

and to act only for the defence of the shores of England.

How far Cromwell and Harrison had deliberately chosen the particular moment when the fleet was accessible to their control, it is impossible to say, but there is no doubt that Vane, and other Parliamentary leaders who had been specially connected with naval affairs had hoped to make the navy the counterpoise to the power of the army. The army and navy being thus ranged at the back of the revolutionary chieftains, there remained the very secondary question as to whether the merchants who held the moneybags of the City would open them freely for the use of the new executive. Several regiments had been drawn into the neighbourhood of London to make sure of the control of the City magnates by coercion if they failed to yield to persuasion. But in actual experience, it was found that nobody more willingly welcomed the new state of things than the Corporation of the City of London.

We have seen how very strong was the party organisation at Harrison's back. In the army many of the best observers thought his influence was greater even than that of Cromwell. He certainly was a power to be reckoned with, unless this popularity should first be dimmed by some rash movement in the party of which he was the head.

His views were now to be put to the test of practical experience. He and his friends had constantly affirmed that if they had control of the Government, they could sway the nation to better forms of social life, and secure the happiness of all classes in the country. But so far, the only attempt made to give expression to

their theories and ideals had been the somewhat unfortunate Commission for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales. Now the work would have to be done on a larger stage, and with powerful rivals on every side.

In actual fact, it was the impossibility of reconciling the high ideals of the Saints with the pecuniary interests of the army, that finally precipitated Harrison's fall. But for the moment all was bright and cheerful. In the last months he had seldom attended the meetings of the Council of State—at only 32 sessions out of 121 is his presence chronicled ; but in the new Council of State which was now appointed by Cromwell and the leading officers, he was present 82 times out of 102 meetings in the first ten weeks.

The support which he enjoyed was not only that of the officers and soldiers. Scattered over the country, as we have seen, in every place of any pretensions and importance, were small congregations of men, practising the Independent form of Church government, some of them orthodox Congregationalists, some Baptists, and some Fifth Monarchy men, who had been brought into the closest touch with the Cromwellian group of leaders. The majority of these "gathered churches," at present looked up to Harrison as the most unselfish religious leader in the land. They were certain to support him so long as he could persuade them that the measures which he recommended were at once religious in their bearing and possible of achievement.

Thus upon two pillars did the power of Harrison rest ; first on the affection of the minor officers and private soldiers in the army, and secondly upon the "gathered churches." Fully conscious of this,

he proposed that the members of the "gathered churches," should everywhere be invited to become the sole electors of the new Parliament. They were to choose men of distinction and leading, and to submit their names to the new Council for definite election. This policy of Harrison's could be defended by two distinct arguments. Either expediency could be pleaded, for the leaders of the new revolution were convinced that a wider franchise would certainly precipitate them into a gulf of ruin. Or it might be maintained, that the members of these churches had alone given proof of their call from God, and therefore could alone govern and legislate in a godly nation.

But naturally it seemed to a large number of the political leaders of the revolution absurd and impossible that a few small groups should be allowed to take over all the rights of the electorate of England. And Lambert and his friends asked for some franchise which would admit as electors any responsible men who had not opposed the republican government. Then those who had honestly taken the "Engagement," would be by that act qualified as electors.

The debate was hot; Harrison opposing Lambert who specially represented the party of expediency and of a wider body of electors. The decision lay with Oliver Cromwell; and the Lord General, strongly influenced by the successes which he had won, as he believed, under the direct impulse of the Holy Spirit, finally decided in favour of Harrison's plan, and became the founder of the new Constitution of England, which lasted during the latter half of the year 1653.

But Cromwell had vacillated for some days between the two rival leaders; there had been during these days

an agitation at the various centres where the military Saints and the members of the "gathered churches" met together for prayer and council, whether it would now be advisable at once to precipitate matters, to hurl him from his high position, and to give his office into the resolute hands of Harrison. Cromwell knew well enough that both Lambert and Harrison were willing to take his place at any time if he hesitated to agree with their views. This may have hastened his decision. At all events, he now showed himself really eager to do what so many in the nation invited him to do, and to establish the rule of the Saints. The following letters are typical of many which reached him.

April 28th, 1653. Address from Herefordshire. "My Lord, what are you that you should be the instrument to translate this nation from the hands of corrupt persons to the Saints? and who are we, that we should live to see these days which our fathers longed to see, and reap the harvest of their hopes?"

April 29th, 1653. The Mayor of Marlborough to Cromwell. "The godly people of the town, and many of the country, were together seeking God, according to your desire in your last declaration, for His presence with you in your councils, that you may be endued with the Spirit of Wisdom and Counsel from Him for the management of the great and weighty affairs that are before you, to the honour of His name, and the good and encouragement of His people, in setting justice and righteousness in this nation, being confident that this is the end you proposed to yourself in the dissolution of Parliament."

In a few weeks names were therefore called for, by

the new executive, of men fitted to take up the government of the nation, and Cromwell announced that he should lay down his autocratic power, and pass over the control of England to the newly elected members. Harrison's plans were almost exactly adopted; and apparently from most counties of England names were sent up according to his directions. We still possess the answers from the "gathered churches" of Bedfordshire, signed among others by a John Bunyan, who was most likely the famous author of the Pilgrim's Progress. The men to whom the destinies of England were to be confided were 144 in number.

On the 4th of July 1653, at Whitehall, Cromwell resigned his dictatorship as he had promised. A contemporary writer tells us that—

"He and the new members met accordingly in the council-chamber, where being entered the room, above one hundred and twenty in number, and being sat round about the table, the Lord General standing by the window opposite to the middle of the table, and having as many of the army officers as the room could well contain on his right hand, and on his left, his lordship made a very grave, Christian and seasonable speech and exhortation; wherein he briefly recounted the many great and wondrous mercies of God towards this nation, and the series of providences wherein the presence of God did wonderfully appear in carrying on this cause, and bringing affairs into the present condition beyond all expectation, ascribing the glory of all to God alone. He set forth also in particular the progress of affairs since the famous victory at Worcester, wherein that arch-enemy of this nation was wholly subdued. He likewise laid down the actings

of the army thereupon, after divers applications to the Parliament, and much being wanting, and forbearance together with the grounds and necessity of their dissolving the said Parliament, which his Excellency declares to be for the preservation of this cause, and the interest of all honest men who have been engaged therein.

"Moreover, he very amply held forth the clearness of the call given to the present members to take the supreme authority; and did from the Scriptures exhort them to their duties and encourage them therein, desiring that a tenderness might be used towards all godly and conscientious persons, of what judgment and under what form soever.

"Which being ended, his lordship produced an instrument under his own hand and seal whereby he did, with the advice of his officers, devolve and intrust the supreme authority and government of this Commonwealth into the hands of the persons then met, who, or any forty of them, are to be held and acknowledged the supreme authority of the nation, unto whom all persons within the same and the territories thereunto belonging, are to yield obedience and subjection. And they are not to sit longer than the 3rd of November 1654. Three months before their dissolution they are to make choice of other persons to succeed them, who are not to sit longer than a twelvemonth; but it is left to them to take care for a succession in government. Which instrument being delivered to the persons aforesaid, his lordship commended them to the grace of God.

"This being done, his Excellency and his officers withdrew; and the said persons so met, having the

supreme authority put into their hands, after some short space adjourned till the next morning, eight o'clock, and appointed to meet in the old Parliament House, there to seek God for direction in this great work, and for His presence and blessing therein. Hereupon, without doing any further business, they all departed."—(Somers Tracts.)

The Royalists and Presbyterians overwhelmed the new Parliament with ridicule. Their favourite title for it was "Barebones" Parliament, from the name of a distinguished citizen of London, who represented the city on its benches. They utterly refused to study the names of the members, or the measures they brought forward—both of which proved the serious nature of the assembly.

Lord Clarendon writes: "That there were amongst them divers of the quality and degree of gentlemen, and who had estates, and such a proportion of credit and reputation as could consist with the guilt they had contracted: but much the major part of them consisted of inferior persons, of no quality or name, artificers of the meanest trades, known only by their gifts in praying and preaching, which was now practised by all degrees of men, but scholars, throughout the kingdom: in which number, that there may be a better judgment made of the rest, it will not be amiss to name one, from whom that Parliament itself was afterwards denominated, who was Praise God (that was his christian name) Barebone, a leatherseller in Fleet Street; from whom he (being an eminent speaker in it), it was afterwards called, Praise God Barebone's Parliament: in a word, they were generally a pack of weak, senseless fellows, fit only to bring the name and reputation of Parliaments lower than it was yet."

As a matter of fact, the majority of the members were citizens of importance in their own districts, and many of them were men well known throughout England. Indeed most of the familiar names of the later years of the Republic, are to be found amongst them, and they introduced a great number of very useful measures for the improvement of the nation. The full description of the measures proposed by them, which is still extant, certainly proves their honesty and directness of purpose.

What Cromwell expected of them is shown by his own utterance at the time at which he abdicated his power and gave it into their hands.

" Indeed I have but one word more to say to you ; though in that, perhaps, I shall show my weakness : it's by way of encouragement to go on in this work. And give me leave to begin thus. I confess I never looked to see such a day as this—It may be nor you neither—when Jesus Christ should be so owned as He is, this day, in this work. Jesus Christ is owned this day by the call of you ; and you own Him by your willingness to appear for Him. And you manifest this, as far as poor creatures may do, to be a day of the power of Christ. I know you will remember that Scripture " He makes His people willing in the day of His power " (Ps. cx. 3). God manifests this to be the day of the power of Christ ; having, through so much blood, and so much trial as hath been upon these nations, made this to be one of the great issues thereof : To have His people called to the supreme authority. He makes this to be the greatest mercy, next to His own Son. God hath owned His Son ; and He hath owned you, and made

you own Him. I confess I never looked to have seen such a day—I did not—Perhaps you are not known by face to one another; indeed I am confident you are strangers, coming from all parts of the nation as you do: but we shall tell you that indeed we have not allowed ourselves the choice of one person in whom we had not this good hope, that there was in him faith in Jesus Christ, and love to all His people and Saints." "If it were a time to compare your standing with that of those that have been 'called' by the suffrages of the people—which, who can tell how soon God may fit the people for such a thing? None can desire it more than I. Would all were the Lord's people! as it was said, 'would all the Lord's people were prophets!' I would all were fit to be called. It ought to be the longing of our hearts to see men brought to own the interest of Jesus Christ. And give me leave to say: If I know anything in the world what is there likelier to win the people to the interest of Jesus Christ, to the love of Godliness (and therefore what stronger duty lies on you, being thus called), than an humble and godly conversation! So that they may see that you love them; that you lay yourselves out, time and spirits, for them. Is not this the likeliest way to bring them to their liberties? And do not you, by this, put it upon God to find out times and seasons for you; fit seasons by putting forth His Spirit? At least you convince them that, as men fearing God have fought them out of their bondage under the regal power, so men fearing God do now rule them in the fear of God. This being so, truely it puts me in mind of another Scripture, that famous Psalm, sixty-eighth Psalm; which indeed is a

glorious prophecy, I am persuaded, of the Gospel Churches—it may be of the Jews also. There it prophecies that "He will bring His people again from the depths of the Sea, as once He led Israel through the Red Sea." And it may be, as some think, God will bring the Jews home to their station from the Isles of the Sea, and answer their expectations "as from the depths of the Sea." But, at all events, sure I am, when the Lord shall set up the glory of the Gospel Church, it shall be a gathering of people as out of deep water, out of the multitude of waters: such are His people, drawn out of the multitudes of the nations and people of this world—And truely that Psalm is very glorious in many other parts of it: when He gathers them, great was the company of them that publish His word. "Kings of armies did flee apace, and she that tarried at home divided the spoil," and "although ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove, covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold." And indeed the triumph of that Psalm is exceeding high and great; and God is accomplishing it. And the close of it—that closeth with my heart, and I do not doubt with yours, "The Lord shakes the hills and mountains and they reel." And God hath a hill too; "an high hill as the hill of Bashan; and the chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of Angels, and God will dwell upon this hill for ever."

So thoroughly was the Lord General united to Harrison and his friends in their high hopes for the establishment of the Kingdom of God.

Chapter XI

The Plans of the Fifth Monarchy Party

1653 (July-December)

First days of the Little Parliament—Meetings for prayer—Rise of two parties—They take the title of Parliament—Harrison on the new Council of State—Manifesto of the new Parliament—Bills introduced for improving the Law, for dealing with Tithes, and for other reforms—Ludlow on the dissension of the Parliament—Jealousy of Lambert—Agitation of Lillburne—Lillburne's trial and acquittal—Parliament gradually loses all support from outside—Cromwell disturbed in mind about their actions—Harrison's party, though the minority, gets its own way in Parliament—Growing alarm throughout the nation—Secularisation of the army—Decision to abolish all private patronage in the Church—And to abolish Tithes—On the 10th of December, motion to dissolve the House—Cromwell not implicated—He accepts decision—His final judgment of the Little Parliament—Harrison's Utopia rejected.

CROMWELL had resigned his dictatorial power into the hands of the new Assembly: of its members 128 had been chosen by the Council of State to represent each county of England in proportion to its size, five were added to represent Scotland, and six to represent Ireland; thus there were five men wanted to complete the mystical number of 144. At its first sitting these five places were filled by the Lord General, Generals Harrison, Lambert, and Desborough, and

Colonel Tomlinson. Into the hands of these 144 selected men, styled in history the Little Parliament, all authority in England had thus been concentrated.

We have already seen how hopefully Cromwell looked forward to the reforming work of this band of men, all of them selected for their religious principles; and how high was his confidence that they were intended by providence to be the founders of a new and noble constitution for the three nations. Congratulations flowed in from all sides to this newly appointed Assembly, but they came exclusively from the members of the "gathered churches"; and by the Royalists and Presbyterians, the new Parliament, as it styled itself, was regarded with aversion and contempt, as being in no way representative of the people.

It is a noticeable thing that Harrison, who was the chief instigator of the new scheme, should almost from the first have found himself in a minority. He had expected that with an assembly of men, chosen entirely for their religious character, and in which that religious character took the shape of a profound, spiritual Puritanism, his plans would have found an enthusiastic support; but it seems to be one of the permanent characteristics of every gathering of men, that as pressure diminishes from outside, and there is less and less opposition to the purposes for which they first came together, they should show a tendency to divide themselves into parties, some anxious to pause at the point they have reached, others eager to go on to fresh changes and new improvements.

The Long Parliament had been a noticeable instance of this constant formation of new parties,

and from almost the very beginning this struggle of parties occupied the attention of the leaders of the Little Parliament. And yet nothing could be more encouraging to the hopes of Harrison and his friends, than the earnest spirit which seemed to band together the whole Assembly in its first hours of work. It resolved to meet at the old Parliament House the day after Cromwell's introductory speech. "Accordingly, about eight in the morning, many of them assembled there; where, say our authorities above cited (which we choose to copy in their own style and language, to show the enthusiastic temper of the times) they began with seeking God by prayer; and the Lord did so draw forth the hearts of them, that they did not find any necessity to call for the help of a minister, but performed the service amongst themselves; eight or ten speaking in prayer to God, and some briefly from the Word; minding what the Lord General had said to them at Whitehall the day before; and what expectation the Lord's people had in this Commonwealth for them to do, in the work of the Lord; and by prayer, seeking to God for direction and assistance in this great work, and for a blessing upon their endeavours therein; that much of the presence of Christ, and His Spirit, appeared at that time, to the great gladdening of the hearts of many; some affirming they never enjoyed so much of the Spirit and Presence of Christ in any of the meetings and exercises of religion in all their lives, as they did that day."—(Old Parliamentary History.)

The first day was thus spent in prayer, until there was only a short time left for the necessary preliminary business; in the evening it was resolved to

call to the chair Mr Francis Rouse, the Provost of Eton, and the author of the Scottish Psalm-book. He was dignified with the title of Speaker. And this choice was a guarantee to those who lovingly watched their proceedings, of their eagerness to deepen the springs of religious worship.

Next morning when they assembled, there was a short discussion as to whether they should spend that day also in speaking to the Lord, but the majority of the Assembly, which now styled itself the Parliament, were eager to proceed to business, and the day was occupied with nominating the necessary Officers of the House, "in which special care was to be taken that no officer should be employed or admitted into their service, but such as they were first well satisfied of their real Godliness."

They proceeded to elect the new Council of State, thirty-one in number, of whom Harrison was one, with the other leaders of his party and of Lambert's party. These were to be the executive authority for the next four months. And by the time the 11th of July was come, the day fixed upon for renewed devotional exercises, this new assembly was ready to put in hand the work it felt itself called upon to do. The hours of the 11th, passed profitably "in seeking the Lord in a special manner for counsel, and for a blessing on the proceedings of this Parliament; when about twelve of the members prayed and spoke till four in the afternoon. The Lord General was present and it was a very comfortable day.

"We have before observed, that this House had no occasion for a chaplain; and from this day their constant method was, that as soon as about a dozen

members were met, they began with prayer; and so continued praying, one after another, till there was a sufficient number assembled to make up a House; and then the Speaker took the chair."

They followed up their private devotions with an appeal to the whole people of England, which they sent to the sheriffs, asking their fervent prayers for the success of this great enterprise.

After a few words of introduction the appeal proceeded, "yet we cannot but acknowledge that we are not yet at rest, nor can we believe we have yet enjoyed or seen enough to accomplish the ends of God; or satisfy the thoughts of men for that vast expense of blood and treasure which could not have been endured with any patience, but in hope that, at length, those bitter pangs and throbs would make some way for that long expected birth of peace, freedom and happiness, both to the souls and bodies of the Lord's people; and although we do not see it fully brought forth, yet we do not despair, but, in God's due time, it shall be so; and that the dark black clouds of the night shall fly before the bright morning star, and the shakings of Heaven and Earth make way for the desire of all nations; nay, there are many things which make us hope the time is near at hand; for we see the clouds begin to scatter, and the dark shadows fly away, streams of light appear, and the day is surely dawned. Neither are we wholly alone in these hopes; for if we be not very much deceived, many if not all the people of God in all the world are in a more than usual expectation of some great and strange changes coming on the world, which we believe can hardly be paralleled with any times, but

those a while before the birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And we do not yet know that any records of all the nations in the world (we scarce except the Jews themselves) can afford such a series of Divine Providences, or more clear impressions of the goings forth and actings of God in any people, than hath been in these nations. And we are very confident that those who were our enemies did not believe it only an arm of flesh, but the finger of God, and His almighty hand, which hath been lifted up and been so eminent and wonderful; 'Be silent then all flesh before the Lord, for He is raised up out of His holy Habitation' (Zech. ii. 13)."

The rest of the declaration is full of high hopes for the future, and concludes with this impassioned appeal to God, "that the envy of Ephraim and Judah may be taken away; and that they may be one in the same fold with one shepherd; that all wars may cease to the ends of the earth; and that all nations may turn their swords and spears into ploughshares and pruning hooks, that the wolf may feed with the lamb; and the earth be full of the knowledge of God as waters cover the sea. That upon every house or assembly may be a cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night, as is promised, and as of old upon the tabernacle; that every one may be holy, and the pots, nay, the bells upon the horses, may be Holiness to the Lord.

"And that in peace and joy we may all wait, expect and long for His glorious coming, who is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, our Hope and Righteousness; who is still to ride on prosperously, conquering and to conquer, till He hath subdued all His enemies,

and at length come to deliver up the Kingdom to His Father that God may reign, and be all in all."

The assembly now began to devote itself to business. A number of Bills were introduced into the House, among them one for correcting the grievances and inconveniences in the proceedings of the law, and another on the "business of tithes." This was to be discussed until it took final shape, on Wednesdays and Fridays of every week. They further nominated a number of Committees to prepare business for the House, "and besides those for Scotland and Ireland, there was one for the business of the law; another for the army; for inspecting the Treasuries, and regulating the officers thereof and their salaries; for receiving petitions; for trade and corporations; for receiving proposals for the advantage of the Commonwealth; for the poor, and enquiring into the revenues of Hospitals; for regulating the commissions of peace throughout the nation; for public debts; for receiving accusations of bribery, public frauds, and breach of public trust, with power to give costs to persons unjustly accused; for prisons and prisoners. There were also other Committees appointed for advancement of learning, and receiving all propositions tending thereto; for removing all laws and ordinances which are hindrances to the progress of the Gospel; and lastly, the House revived an Act for redress of delays and mischiefs rising on writs of error, writs of false judgment and arrests of judgment; all which looked extremely well, and had the appearance, at least, of establishing good government in the nation."

So far all had gone smoothly; there had been only one important division, and that was on the 6th

of July, when the assembly had decided by sixty-five to forty-six that they would take the title of parliament. Proceedings were now to become more stormy and less harmonious. Ludlow, who had every opportunity of knowing the innermost secrets of the assembly, gave as the reason for this want of concord "that many of the members of this assembly had manifested a good affection to the public cause; but some there were among them who were brought in as spies and trepanners; and though they had always been of the contrary party, made the highest pretensions to honesty, and the service of the nation: that this assembly therefore being composed, for the most part, of honest and well-meaning persons (who, having good intentions, were less ready to suspect the evil designs of others), thought themselves in full possession of the power and authority of the nation, and therefore proceeded to the making of laws relating to the public."

Two causes seem to have stirred up bitterness in the hearts of the members, first, the personal relations of the leaders, and secondly, the action of the governing authorities towards Colonel John Lilburne. Lambert and Harrison had brought forward opposing schemes for the settlement of the nation; after a long and fierce struggle, Lambert's had been defeated, and Harrison's scheme adopted. And Lambert, whose weakness of character was combined with an extraordinary amount of obstinacy, had never forgiven Harrison's success. There continued to be a bitter rivalry between the two, and though Lambert played no ostensible part in the proceedings of the Little Parliament, yet his friends in that assembly did

all that lay in their power to thwart the plans of Harrison; while he himself intrigued incessantly in the Protector's entourage, and came well to deserve Cromwell's nickname for him, "bottomless Lambert." In Lambert's absence, one man especially stood forward as the leader of the more conservative part of the House, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards so famous in Charles the Second's reign as the first Earl of Shaftesbury.

Lillburne had been obliged to fly from the country in 1652. He had taken refuge at Bruges, in which city he had had conferences with men of all opinions, and even with several Royalists; and he had returned to England while the selection of the Little Parliament was going forward, knowing that his most pronounced enemies had fallen from power at the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and hoping that he might exercise an influence over the course of affairs, in the conduct of which Cromwell and Harrison were now the two conspicuous figures.

But Lillburne's opinions were frankly republican. He claimed for all adult Englishmen the right to an equal share in the election of the members of the House of Commons; and this idea of Harrison's to set up a parliament of men chosen entirely for their religious opinions was to him detestable. In what sense, he asked, could they be called a parliament who represented no one, and whose constituents did not even know the names of their members, unless they sought them out, with a view to the presentation of some petition or other?

The Parliament, annoyed by his attitude, interfered in no way to protect Lillburne from the resolutions

passed against him by the Long Parliament, and allowed him to spend his time in prison up to the second of August, when a petition was presented, asking for his release, by the young men and apprentices of the cities of London and Westminster.

This petition was voted "scandalous and seditious" and the men who presented it were thrown into prison, "there to be kept to hard labour during the pleasure of the House."

The House ordered also that Lillburne should be kept close prisoner at Newgate. But it was more easy to pass votes against Lillburne than to keep him silent. On August 10th he was brought in the natural course of events before a judge and jury, and after a long hearing was acquitted on the 20th by the jury, who claimed that they had a right to interpret the law as well as to decide on facts, and that Lillburne had done nothing worthy of death and therefore must be declared not guilty. The immense popularity of this acquittal was a rude shock to many of the supporters of the new Parliament; it showed how absolutely the electors of England in general were opposed to the new Parliament's policy.

Writing on the 5th of September from Westminster, and describing the trial of Lillburne, the Dutch envoy says: "there were six or seven hundred men at his trial, with swords, pistols, daggers, bills and other instruments, that, in case they had not cleared him, they would have employed in his defence. The joy and acclamation was so great after he was cleared, that the shout was heard an English mile, as it is said: but he is not yet released out of prison, and it is thought that they will try him at a High Court of Justice."

Though acquitted, Lillburne was kept in prison by order of Parliament. Harassed by the Lillburnian riots, and by the intrigues of Lambert's party, the Parliament required strong support from outside in carrying through its projected reforms—its plans for the suppression of the High Court of Chancery; for taking away the rights of patrons to present to benefices; for the abolition of tithes; and a scheme which it added about this time to "reconsider of a new body of the law," and to condense into a small book the whole of the laws of England. But it was just in this strong outside support that it was now shown to be lacking. The city of London and the majority of people throughout the country preferred the reforms of Lambert to the reforms of Harrison.

On the support of the army, which unfortunately for the success of their plans was now beginning to suffer from the divisions and discontent planted and nourished by the intrigues of Lambert and his friends, Harrison's party could by no means rely.

Divided in itself, with little hope of outside support, creating a vast body of enemies with every fresh reform it took in hand, the Little Parliament was staggering under a load too heavy for it towards the inevitable end of its dissolution, unless Cromwell would intervene and give it fresh strength. But Cromwell was already beginning to doubt the wisdom of Harrison's policy. Writing to his son-in-law, Fleetwood, now Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Ireland, on August 22nd, 1653, he says: "Truly I never needed more help from my Christian friends than now. Fain would I have my service accepted of the saints, if the Lord will; but it is not

so. Being of different judgments, and those of each sort seeking most to propagate their own, that spirit of kindness that is to them all is hardly accepted of any. I hope I can say it, my life has been a willing sacrifice—and I hope—for them all. Yet it much falls out as when the two Hebrews were rebuked: you know upon whom they turned their displeasure." If Cromwell failed them, could the advanced party gather enough power in the assembly to force their way in spite of all opposition?

To effecting this, Harrison and his friends now addressed themselves. They could only count on a minority of the full voting strength of the House of Commons. It was calculated that Harrison's followers numbered 60, and that there were 84 Moderates opposed to him. But many of these Moderates were comparatively indifferent, and so constantly absent from their places that Harrison's minority was more often converted into a majority in the actual divisions.

Still this hostile majority actually existed, and on great occasions could sometimes be mustered together: for instance, when the new Council of State was to be elected on November 1st, 1653, there were 113 members present, and the lowest of the Moderate candidates secured 62 votes, while only 58 were given to Harrison. Harrison, it is true, was once more placed upon the Council, but he felt his position was so weak there, that he never attended the meetings, and devoted all his strength to the debates and divisions of the Parliament itself.

There he had to suffer from perpetual misrepresentation. The members of the Little Parliament who opposed him seem to have felt a more than usual

indifference to truth in describing the schemes of their rivals. It was believed in the country that the whole of the "old Body of the Law" was to be taken away, and a new law substituted for it, mainly based on the teaching of Moses. It was believed in the Universities, even by such a man as Dr Owen, Dean of Christchurch and Vice-Chancellor, that Harrison's party intended to confiscate all the property of the Universities and of the colleges, and to devote the proceeds to the lightening of the burdens of taxation. The clergy were persuaded that their incomes derived from tithes were to be entirely taken away; and all classes and all professions fancied themselves on the verge of a volcano.

Further, the Parliament had begun to discuss how to raise the necessary funds for the maintenance of the army. Bitter complaints had been made of the unfairness of the monthly assessments, which fell much more heavily upon some counties than upon others, and pressed especially hardly on the poorer taxpayers. It was felt at one time that the Bill to continue the payment of the monthly assessment of the army for the next six months would be actually rejected in the House. Some members suggested that the leading officers, who had been very well rewarded by the Government, should return their pay to the Exchequer for the next few months; other members felt that very large reductions might be made in the numbers of the army, and that new plans must be prepared for providing for the forces which remained. Further, in the case of a certain Sir John Stawell, the articles of the surrender of Exeter had not been properly carried out; and the army felt its honour was at stake in the

due observance of the many sets of articles of surrender which had brought the Civil War to a close. When Stawell's case came up for consideration in the Parliament, his complaints were, according to some, passed by with indifference; according to others, were held back for a future opportunity. All these discussions and these rumours, based very largely on the speeches of some of the more violent Fifth Monarchy members in the House, went to increase the unpopularity of the little body of passionately religious men who were trying to force through reforms which they considered necessary for the happiness of the nation.

But while their activity constantly developed, every month the religious party in the army grew weaker. There was no longer the same keenness about religious ideals. Nothing shows this more clearly than the history of General Monk. At the invasion of Scotland before Dunbar, Cromwell had proposed to put him at the head of a vacant cavalry regiment; but the nomination had been so intensely unpopular in the regiment, that the Lord General had been obliged to give way, and to place Monk elsewhere. Now he was one of the most potent and popular of the generals by land and sea, and no man thought for a moment of bringing up his past actions against him. Thus the army was fast becoming an all-powerful corporation which set its own interests before its ancient ideals, and worked determinedly for the support of its own members who found themselves aggrieved. Lambert, who had become their mouthpiece for most of these grievances, was constantly persuading Cromwell to cashier godly officers, and to put in their places men

of experience and skill indeed, but of no very definite religious opinions.

But the final blow was to be given to the Little Parliament by its own members, and it was on the wider question of property that the storm first began. A Bill had been brought forward for taking away the right of patronage of livings from private patrons. The arguments in the House against the existing system were irresistible: members eloquently pointed out how often a patron of one shade of opinion would impose a pastor of his own way of thinking upon an unwilling flock; while others laid stress upon the point that many of these patrons were not men of sufficiently high character to be endowed with such a tremendous responsibility; they added that the minister found himself very often in a false position, and could hardly be expected to speak out boldly against the man to whose preference he owed his own position. By a vote of fifty-eight to forty-one the right of private patronage was entirely taken away. But this caused an unexpected outbreak of indignation. The lawyers and ministers who were seeking some reason for a new attack on the "godly party" at once declared that all the rights of private property were in danger. Their complaints increased the sense of uncertainty which was already being so sedulously fostered by the men whom Ludlow describes "as making the highest pretensions to honesty and the service of the nation, while they were really most bitterly hostile to the hopes with which the Parliament was elected."

When on December 10th the report on the Bill for ejecting unsatisfactory ministers and for providing

for the maintenance of ministers in general, was brought in, its first clause was rejected by a vote of fifty-six to fifty-four,—which meant that the "godly party" had sufficiently gained the control of the assembly to be able to abolish tithes. The division took place on the Saturday. The whole of the next day, while the "godly party" were at their prayers, was occupied by Lambert and his friends in planning a sudden blow. As soon as the House met on Monday, the support of the Speaker, Mr Francis Rouse, having been already obtained, the moderate party began to carry out their plans. A member of the Council of State, Sir Charles Wolsley, made an attack on the "godly party," and accused them of scheming to do away with the Chancery; to confiscate private property; and to deprive officers of their pay. He moved further, "that the sitting of this Parliament any longer as now constituted will never be for the good of the Commonwealth; and that further it is requisite to deliver up to the Lord General Cromwell the power they have received from him."

His motion was seconded by Colonel Sydenham also a member of the Council of State. The "godly party" did their best to answer them, and to resist their motion, but for the moment they were in a hopelessly small minority. The Speaker did not even put the motion from the chair, but left his seat, and with some forty members proceeded to Whitehall, where they resigned their power into the hands of the Lord General.

About thirty of the minority who still retained their seats were driven out by the soldiery, and in a few minutes the Little Parliament had ceased to exist.

Cromwell always said that he had no knowledge of the intrigues by which the Little Parliament decided to dissolve itself. He had vacillated long between the enthusiastic ideals of Harrison, and the commonplace and common-sense plans of Lambert. There had been great anxiety as to his decision among the commercial and professional classes; they felt that, in the words of Ranke, "he might be tempted to place himself decidedly at the head of the Anabaptist democratical party, carry out their ideas in England, and then extend them like a second Mahomet throughout the world. Was he not pledged to this by the fact that he had justified his violent proceedings against the old Parliament by the abuses, to eradicate which was the first aim of the new one? His ideas and theirs seemed to fit together." But "whatever Cromwell may have said as to the alliance of Parliament with the corrupt interests of the clergy and lawyers, it was very far from being his wish to go the length of destroying these two orders, and of introducing a social revolution. He had opposed the agitators when they attempted to introduce their principle of election into the army. He had crushed the Levellers when they violated the idea of property. He could not approve decrees of an assembly which betrayed kindred views. The magistrates and the clergy, whom he had attacked in April 1653, found their chief support in him in December when their existence was threatened."

That his decision was final, and that when he had once made up his mind there was no possibility of resistance, showed plainly to the whole world that England now lay under a military despotism, and that

the first object of the army in future was sure to be its own interests.

The "godly party" had seemed to get its opportunity of establishing the reign of right in England, but it had come at once into collision with many great interests, and above all with the interest of the army; and its reforms had fallen stillborn without any practical result.

Cromwell's final judgment of the men of the Fifth Monarchy is given in his speech at the opening of the Parliament in 1654.

"But, I say, there is another error of more refined sort, which many honest people, whose hearts are sincere, many of them belonging to God, have fallen into; and that is the mistaken notion of the Fifth Monarchy. A thing pretending more spirituality than anything else. A notion, I hope, we all honour, and wait and hope for the fulfilment of: that Jesus Christ will have a time to set up His reign in our hearts, by subduing these corruptions and lusts and evils that are there, which now reign more in the world than, I hope, in due time they shall do. And when more fulness of the Spirit is poured forth to subdue iniquity, and bring in everlasting righteousness, then will the approach of that glory be. The carnal divisions and contentions amongst Christians so common are not the symptoms of that kingdom! But for men, on this principle, to betitle themselves, that they are the only men to rule kingdoms, govern nations, and give laws to people, and determine of property and liberty and everything else; when such a pretension as this is, truly they had need to give clear manifestations of God's presence with them, before wise men will receive or submit to their conclusions."

And yet the Utopia of Harrison and his friends, the creation of a republic of which all the members should be confessed Christians, and which was now shattered and unlikely to be rebuilt for many a long day, had not seemed so improbable to the reasonable persons who supported it in those days.

Even the franchise confined to the members of the "gathered Churches" was not so limited when compared with the strictly limited electorates who chose the members for most of the towns of England, and with which Harrison was familiar in his own home. The members of the "gathered Churches" might well form a nucleus round which could collect for every fresh election an increased number of newly qualified adherents.

Looking back over a long space of time, we can see that the collapse of the Little Parliament, and the destruction of the hopes of the Fifth Monarchy men, was the result of a want of tactful guidance, and that they came to ruin because they had offended so many powerful interests. But at the time it was natural that Harrison, whose after-history shows that he was willing to suffer any indignity and any misery for the "good old cause," should expect his fellow soldiers to have an equal capacity for sacrificing their own gains for the sake of the Fifth Monarchy. To him this Fifth Monarchy appeared so intensely desirable and so thoroughly gratifying to every high aspiration of man, that he felt convinced that his comrades would follow him fearlessly and ungrudgingly in the path of reform. That only a very few did remain faithful to the end, is one of the profound lessons of history, but

can hardly be treated as showing a want of foresight in the daring leader who had so often ventured his all both in fight and in debate for the removal of the obstacles which hindered the erection of the throne of Jesus Christ.

NOTE.—In spite of the lengthy discussions on religion, the Short Parliament found time to pass a number of useful measures. Three of these were for the better handling of the revenue and the more effective controlling of expenses; others were for the simplification of legal procedure. There was one very important Act which established civil marriage, and regulated the registration of births and deaths. Another dealt with the affairs of the adventurers in Ireland, and the settlement of the soldiers there. A very useful and merciful Act appointed a number of additional judges both in London and in the country to clear the jails of debtors, of whom many hundreds were held in prison. Others dealt with the Crown lands in England. There were also several Bills which had reached the final stage at the time of the dissolution, for the simplification of the law. It is evident from this list that much quiet and valuable work was done by many of the Committees of this harshly judged Parliament.

Chapter XII

The Fall of the Fifth Monarchy Party

1653-1660

Collapse of the Fifth Monarchy Party—Their proposals to fight come to nothing—Reasons why they were unprepared—Cromwell's decisive action—Petition of three Colonels—Sermons at Blackfriars—Criticisms of Bordeaux and Roger Williams—Persecution of Harrison—Thurloe describes to Monk Harrison's refusal to submit—Harrison's interviews with Ludlow—Harrison becomes a Baptist—Fifth Monarchy Plots—Harrison excluded from Government under the revived Republic—Ill-treatment of many under the Protector—Arrest of Harrison.

NEVER did a powerful party collapse more easily and more completely than did the party which under Harrison had practically ruled England for the last seven months of 1653. It was not that they had hesitated to use force. Their leaders and ministers had thoroughly approved of the violent ejection of the Long Parliament in April. Again and again through the year they had considered together the question of whether they should try to drive Cromwell from office. Indeed, their support lay to a very large extent in the military forces, and the great prayer meetings at Blackfriars were largely composed of soldiers.

It may seem hardly necessary to support these facts by the still further proof of the plans and

purposes of Mr Vavasour Powell, one of the chief ministers in the great Welsh campaign against the Royalist clergy. He was at this time residing in London, and was one of the principal orators of the party. Mr Vavasour Powell had himself taken up arms against the Scottish invaders of 1651, and had raised a troop of horse to follow him from among the members of the "gathered churches" in his own neighbourhood. Much of his correspondence is preserved in the Thurloe Papers; there are also reports made upon him by various unfriendly Welshmen.

On February 25th, 1654, he writes to one of his tenants: "I find you do not intend to pay me my rent, therefore must take what course I can myself. I am resolved to send a party of soldiers to distrain on some, and I know of no one fitter to begin upon than yourself. I hope you cannot blame me, I have had patience."

And one gentleman writes to another on February 28th, 1654, "If God prevent it not, he will assuredly bring utter ruin upon our poor country. There is no man will or dare send up any charge against him, as long as the new justices of the peace who are all of his church, his well-wishers, continue in commission."

And another writes a few days later to the Protector, "I find by the enclosed letters from Mr Vavasour Powell and Mr J. Jones, under their own hands, that they have enlisted troops which they keep on foot to the terror of the inhabitants, though as I am informed they are not of the established army, raised by command of your Highness."

These are but specimens of the readiness of the godly party to risk a civil war rather than be



HOUSE WHERE MAJOR-GENERAL HARRISON WAS BORN.

(*From a drawing by J. A. Symington.*)

suppressed; and yet there was not the smallest skirmish or the feeblest attempt at a rising to prove the military power of this great party. Above all, Harrison himself submitted without any show of resistance, and appeared to be quite cowed. He resigned his commission, and returned to his house in Newcastle, Staffordshire, which he had recently inherited, on the death of his father in the beginning of 1653.

This house, the building above all others with which we connect Harrison, stood in the street of Newcastle until a few years ago, and its character remains fresh in the minds of its inhabitants. The rooms were reached by an oaken staircase which ran round the hall in the shape of a well, and gave access to all parts of the house, placed on very irregular levels—one room on the first floor upstairs has left a special impression on its younger inhabitants. It had several windows overlooking the market cross, and we may probably assume that Harrison often watched from it the arrivals and departures of the passengers along the busy north road; from it he would see the officials sent down from London to arrest him, and the arrival of friends come to take counsel with him about their common plans. At the back of the house was a large garden, in which we naturally think of Harrison and his fellow Fifth Monarchy men discussing their hopes and sanguine dreams for the future. There, in the intervals of his imprisonments, Harrison spent most of his time, and cultivated that grace of patience which was so conspicuous a feature of his later character.

A man of such exceeding submissiveness and readiness to suffer, was evidently rather made of the stuff of

martyrs, than of the iron material of a leader of an insurrection ; and though he was arrested again and again on suspicion, there was never any sign of a serious organisation worked by him for the overthrow of the Government. Probably he and his associates had felt absolutely confident of success, for they were convinced that gradually they had climbed to their place as leaders of the revolution by the Divine call, and although they represented no longer anything like the majority of the nation, they were set to govern as God's nominees.

The process by which they had climbed to power had been slow. The Houses of Parliament had been almost unanimous for the overthrow of Strafford ; then the moderate men, the Presbyterians, the Baptists, the Independents, the calmer Republicans, had all in turn been thrown on one side as broken instruments in the great struggle ; and Harrison and his friends quite naturally expected that once more the men of the opposite party would go down before the determination of the Saints of God. The future, they believed, lay in their hands. And the men of the world, who still opposed them, would be flung aside, while the Saints marched on to the final victory. When, therefore, instead of an easy success they found suddenly the whole power of the Government, civil and military, ranged against them, they were utterly confounded ; and some of them, at all events, began to think that they were called upon rather to suffer than to conquer ; that the cruel tyranny of the *Fourth* Monarchy was still unvanquished ; and that they had some months or years to wait before they could set up the Kingdom of Christ upon earth.

Whatever may have been the power of organisation in the intellectual equipment of Oliver Cromwell, there was no doubt of the force of his will when once it was roused to exertion. And the general who in the expressed opinion of his son Henry, had for the last two months been treated like a "kickshaw," now blazed forth in all his strength and rapidity of action.

The same daring leader who decided the fights of Marston Moor and Naseby by the fierceness of his charge, dispersed the Fifth Monarchy men as a savage bull disperses a pack of dogs. They might howl, and they did howl with fury, but there was no checking him. Ruthlessly and decisively he drove out the members of their party from the body of the army, and imprisoned the noisier and more dangerous ministers in distant fortresses. Without his swift action there must have been a largely extended rising. There is still extant in the State Paper Office a threatening petition of three Colonels, Thomas Saunders, John Okey, and Matt. Alured to the Protector.

"December 20th, '53. Petition of Colonels Thomas Saunders, John Okey, and Matt. Alured to the Protector, and our General:

"As members of the army, we solemnly declared (14 June 1647) that we engaged not as mercenaries but in conscience for the liberties of our country; yet from our confidence in you, who engaged with us in the same quarrel, we waited your counsels to the utmost extremity.

"But finding you engaged in transactions whereupon the life and death of the cause bought with our blood hangs, we are obliged to remind you of the tyranny against which we engaged, and of the fundamental rights

and freedoms we intended to redeem out of the tyrant's hands, and to this the whole army agreed, not only before but after the exemplary justice done on the late King. We then declared his tyranny to consist in his opposition to Parliament, concerning the people's safety in their absolute command on the militia, and of their power to call officers of justice and ministers of state to account, which he said could not be done without him, and that whatever he did, no power could meddle with his sacred person.

"We then declared that we must have constant Parliaments, freely chosen by the people, which should have the supreme power in making laws, removing grievances, determining peace or war, and no person should be exempt from punishment by the people's Parliament, the principle of the King's unaccountableness being the great root of tyranny.

"We tremble to think of the account we must render, if by silence we give away the freedom purchased by precious blood. We are therefore pressed in conscience to declare that we shall resent the consequences of establishing that supreme trust of the militia for two and a half years out of three, in a single person with a Council which he can control at pleasure with a single voice. Also this power is not to be over such a militia as the late King durst not claim, but over a standing army, which this single person, if corrupt, may employ to destroy Parliament, and bring us under vassalage; for this army will be mercenary, and obey his commands from interest, whereas the ancient militia, having their own arms and officers were not obliged to obey the King's illegal commands. Such a militia commander will be master of all Parlia-

ments, freedoms, and all our birthrights, especially considering that, according to what is imposed by the present Parliament, no Parliament shall ever dare to propose anything against a single person's command of the militia, lest he should refuse, during their session, to dispose of it as they advise; so that all provisions for liberty of conscience or freedom would thus be made void.

"All legislative power would also depend upon this single person, he having an obstinate negative to all Bills, unless Parliament declare that he is obstinate, and will neither consent to the Bill nor satisfy them why he will not, which they would not dare to do to one who commands 30,000 men. Also this negative voice is a clog upon Parliament, the opposing of which in the late King cost so much blood.

"Now if this single person should attempt the highest tyranny, the power vested in him is such that Parliament cannot execute justice on him unless he consent to have justice done on himself, and he can protect himself as the late King might have done, if he had had a standing army. Also we apprehend ill consequences from allowing the Protector and Council to levy money to pay a fleet and army of 30,000 men and £200,000 a year over and above.

"We are filled with trouble, being daily taunted that while we pretended the freedom of our country, we only intended to set up ourselves; therefore we are cautious about rashly taking any new engagement, though none will more faithfully serve you in all just designs. We therefore beg that a full and truly free Parliament may consider our fundamental rights and freedoms, settle the government, and secure us

against all future attempts of tyranny. In your protection of these great ends we will hazard life and estate in your defence. Noted: this petition was subscribed and owned by these three, and had been by many more colonels of the army, if the Lord Protector had not, upon search of Colonel Alured's chamber, taken it away, and imprisoned him for two days, whereby any further subscriptions were prevented."

These colonels were immediately cashiered with several of the same way of thinking. The number of officers dismissed at this time is said to have exceeded 150; and many of the vacant places appear to have been filled with men who had formerly fought on the side of King Charles. The rank and file of many regiments was emasculated in the same fashion. Meanwhile the Government with its system of spies, so thoroughly well organised by Secretary Thurloe, was watching the dangerous meetings at Blackfriars. One of the leading informers writes as follows on December 20th. His description of the Fifth Monarchy brings home to us the character and purposes of that remarkable apocalyptic expectation.

"December 20th, '53. Information of Marchamount Needham respecting a meeting held at Blackfriars on Monday evening, 19th December 1653. The first man in the pulpit was the minister of Shoreditch, who was very moderate, and after him Mr Feake discoursed concerning the little horn in Daniel vii., which he would not say was meant of anyone in this world or any other nation. 'I will name nobody,' said he, but he gave many desperate hints, which he named characters, and about nine in number. The first was that

this little horn should come up among the ten horns; by the ten are understood ten kings, kingdoms, or governments, which were to arise out of the kingdom of the fourth beast, that is, those ten European kings, kingdoms, or states that arose out of the Roman monarchy. It is said of the little horn that he should come up among these as a branch of the Fourth Monarchy, and that is the first character.

"The second is that this little horn should arise after the ten horns or kings, that is, after the ten horns have continued a while; then a little before these ten horns expire shall this little horn arise, yet not so after them but that he may be said to be among them.

"The third is that this little horn shall be diverse from the first, that is, from the ten, and shall not in all things be like any of the ten horns or kings, but shall appear another thing, and his power and government entirely different.

"The fourth character is that before this little horn, three of the first were plucked up by the roots, and three fell before him, and that he should subdue three of the horns, three kings or kingdoms, and this, he said, 'I apply to nobody.'

"The fifth is that in this horn were eyes like a man, that is, he had eyes, his emissaries and spies, in every corner.

"The sixth is that he had a mouth speaking great words in defiance of the most High God, and his people.

"A seventh character that he had a look more stout than his fellows.

"Here it is intimated that though he differ in his government and title from the ten kings, yet he shall

be equal to them in power, and so they but his fellows. And he shall be more stout, that is, take more upon him than his fellows.

"The eighth is that he shall think to change times and laws, and to make great alterations in government, and set up a form and laws of his own.

"The ninth and last character is that this little horn made war with the saints and prevailed against them, as it is said 'he shall wear out the saints of the Most High; and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times, and the dividing of time,' which is said to be until judgment was given to the saints of the Most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom. In the 26th and 27th verses it is said 'the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end, and the kingdom, dominion, and greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High.'

"Thus you see how this little horn is to make war with the saints, that is, to set himself against them, and prevail in his design, so as they shall be given into his hand, and he shall wear them out for some short time, until the time come when the Fifth Monarchy begins, when the kingdom and dominion must be given to the saints, who in the end shall take away his dominion and destroy it.

"And so it appears the little horn is a power sprung out of the Fourth Monarchy, immediately before the beginning of the Fifth, and which shall be destroyed by the Fifth.

"'I know,' said he, 'some would have the late King Charles to be meant by this little horn, but as

I said at first, I'll name nobody. God will make it clear shortly to His people who is meant here,' and after many like insinuations at random, he dismissed the subject.

"Vavasour Powell went up next, and pursued the same interpretations, enlarging on the subject out of Daniel xi., but reflected much more openly than Mr Feake, being very broad. He applied what is spoken in the 20th and 21st verse of that chapter to the little horn. The king of the north he interpreted to be the late King, who stumbled and fell, and could not be found. Then shall stand up in his estate, as in the 20th verse, a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom, but within a few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battle; 'a small matter,' he said, 'should fetch him down with little noise.'

"And here he took occasion to inveigh bitterly against the great commanders, as if they were the sole cause of taxes; but it is said, moreover, in the 21st verse, of the successor of the king of the north, 'in his estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom, but he shall come in peaceably and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.' This he applied in a most pernicious manner to the present time; and then went on to the 22nd, 23rd and 24th verses, which he wrested after the same strange manner, and then from the 30th to the 33rd verses, which are 'He shall have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant,' 'that is,' said he, 'with such as apostatise from their principles.' 'And arms shall stand on his part,' 'that is,' said Mr Powell, 'the great army men and

swordsmen shall side with him,' 'and such as do wickedly against the covenant shall be corrupt by flatteries, but the people that do know their God shall be strong and do exploits, and they that understand among the people shall instruct many,' upon which he expatiated with very bold reflections, and then concluded that subject. He then fell upon a new discourse, and told us that there were four things at which people are now very much offended, 'but we here,' said he, 'are ready to justify them before all the world, and they are these :—

"'(1) That there is such a thing as a Fifth Monarchy, which Christ is now setting up.

"'(2) That there is such a thing as a spirit of prophecy in the saints, whereby they are enabled to foretell things to come,' and thereupon he undertook to foretell the downfall of the present power.

"'(3) That the great design of Christ is to destroy all antichristian forms, churches, and clergy.'

" Upon the latter he was copious, and said they must down, though they were never so strongly protected, for Christ is none of their lord protectors, though the army men protect them, 'yes, and rather than those shall down, they will pull Parliament in pieces, and this made them break the last Parliament ; for on Saturday, the 6th of December, the House refused to settle a commission of ministers to ride in circuits as the judges did, and judge who were fit to be continued, or put out of their livings, and so to maintain them upon the old corrupt foundation still ; and when the House would not yield that these antichristian clergymen and tithes should be upheld, then on Monday following in the morning they were thrust out,—I mean the few

honest men of them that were then present,—by violence, and the rest, as they had agreed beforehand, went and subscribed their names to a paper, giving up their authority in the name of the whole, whereas none of the honest men would subscribe or surrender save only some three or four, who have since professed their hearty sorrow to me for it.

"'This is true, and we must speak it out, for our mouths shall not be stopped, with paper proclamations. I saw one in print to-day which says this last Parliament dissolved themselves, and resigned up their powers and authorities, but I take it to be a libel, for at the top of it, it is said to be by the Council, but it does not say by the Council of State, nor by the Council of War, nor by the Common Council, nor by name of any other council, and therefore I look upon it as a mere libel; for I am sure it lies sufficiently in saying the Parliament dissolved themselves, the better part being utterly against it, and continue of that mind to this day, and so you shall find they will continue. They were broken by force, and it was a business plotted by the great army men, clergymen, and their party altogether.'

"This Mr Powell represented as a grand mystery, and so took upon himself to strip and whip it in a very furious manner, before all the people, which being done, he flew into many strange ejaculations. 'Lord,' said he, 'have our army men all apostatised from their principles? what is become of all their declarations, protestations, and professions? Are they choked with lands, parks, and manors? Let us go home and pray, and say, Lord, wilt Thou have Oliver Cromwell or Jesus Christ to reign over us. I know

there are many gracious souls in the army, and of good principles, but the greater they grow, the more they are corrupted with lands and honours. I'll tell you a common proverb that we had among us of the general, that in the field he was the graciousest and most gallant man in the world, but out of the field, and when he came home again to government, the worst.'

"He added that they expected persecution, and snares were laid, and spies set over them, and they might be deprived of the benefit of meeting in that place, 'but then,' said he, 'we can meet at another; and if we be driven from thence, we will meet at private houses; and if we cannot have liberty there, we will into the fields; and if we be driven thence we will into corners; for we will never give over, and God will not permit this spirit to go down, but will be the support of the spirits of His people.'

"He also complained of the faltering of divers who had formerly been very forward at this meeting, but now drew back, and therefore he prayed that the Lord would hold up this meeting.

"Mr Powell having done, one seated at the corner of the gallery began to speak, and would have gone on to oppose somewhat that had been spoken, and strained his voice to overcome the outcries; but after half an hour's tumult, Mr Cockaine getting into the pulpit, they cried down the other. Mr Cockaine entered upon the fifth chapter of Hosea, and discoursed so largely upon the two first verses that he had no time to trace any further. He told us this part of the prophecy referred to the time of Jereboam the Second, who held up the corrupt worship as it was at first instituted by Jereboam the First; and the

house of the king, and the whole tribe of the idolatrous priesthood combined together, out of policy, to maintain their several interests, by keeping out and suppressing the true worship of God. The idolatrous priesthood supported the house of the king, and the king maintained the priesthood. Here was their compliance, and this he made bold to parallel to the present state of things in England by showing the like compliance, and he was often up with the name of antichristian clergy, parochial priests, Baal's priests in England, and what a combination there is now between them here and the house of the king or the present power; but from the example, and in the words of Hosea, that bold man, as he called him, he was bold to declare judgment towards them both, and that shortly to be expected; and why? Because they have been a snare on Mizpeh and a net spread upon Tabor. He told us Mizpeh and Tabor were two mountains upon which were built two watch-towers to espy. There spies were kept continually by the priests and the king, because those places overlooked all the highways towards Jerusalem, and so none had a mind to go thitherward to the true worship of God but they were presently espied, and so persecuted by the priests and the king, who had set up their interests in the idolatrous worship, and therefore were resolved to force it upon the people, and use all means to keep them from a better; and for this purpose they had snares spread and spies set in every corner, as the priests and their king have here with us, and he was very copious in this kind of discourse. Then he came to the 2nd verse, and told us that as the revolters in Israel were profound to

make slaughter, profound in their plots and designs to circumvent and persecute, so the like here in England, and it might be expected more. Here he fell foul upon the great clergymen as well as others, who had deserted from their principles, and said we might beware of such, for that none were so desperately bent, and so profoundly set upon mischief against men of right principles, as such as had revolted from them. He talked at large of much cruelty that was to be expected from such revolters, but bade us rest assured the Lord would be a rebuke of them all. These are some brief hints of larger discourses. One thing more let me add, that Vavasour Powell's fourth point, which he said he would justify against all the world, is, that the magistrate has nothing to do to meddle in matters of religion. The meeting was adjourned until Monday next."

The result of these violent attacks upon the Government was a summons to the principal ministers to appear before the Council. On January 28th, 1654, two of them, Feake and Simpson, were imprisoned after receiving a severe objurgation from the Protector. A letter of later date from Bordeaux, the French Ambassador, describes the opening of the Protector's first Parliament and shows how these men and their opinions appeared to judicious foreign onlookers.

September 13th, 1654. "The Protector, in opening Parliament, spoke against the Levellers, the Independents, the Anabaptists, making it to appear that the one and the other, under pretence of establishing entire equality, and to persuade the people that the time of the Fifth Monarchy was come, did only labour and intend thereby, the establishment of their own great-

ness; and after that he had admonished them of having a care of such men, and that they should not believe that Christ would come and reign bodily here upon earth, but in the hearts, he afterwards spoke of the purity of religion. The old Speaker was chosen. It was observed that as often as the Lord Protector spoke in his speech of Liberty and Religion, the members seemed to rejoice with acclamations of joy."

Roger Williams, now residing for a short time in England, and on the point of returning to America, paid a visit to Harrison in these days, and describes it to Governor Winthrop in the following words: "Major-General Harrison was the second in the nation of late, when the loving general and himself joined against the former Long Parliament, and dissolved them; but now being the head of the fifty-six party," the minority in Barebones Parliament, "he was confined by the Protector and Council within five miles of his father's house in Staffordshire. That sentence he not obeying, he told me the day before my leaving London, he was to be sent prisoner into Herefordshire. Surely, sir, he is a very gallant, deserving, heavenly man, but most high flown for the kingdom of saints, and the Fifth Monarchy now risen. Others (as to my knowledge the Protector, Lord President Lawrence, and others at helm, with Sir Henry Vane, returned into Lincolnshire, yet daily missed and courted for his assistance) are not so full of that faith of miracles, but still imagine changes and persecutions, and the very slaughter of the witnesses before that glorious morning, so much desired, of a worldly kingdom, if ever such a kingdom

(as literally it is by many expounded) be to arise in this world and dispensation." Thus was all resistance successfully repressed, and the new constitution, called the Instrument of Government, framed by Lambert and his friends, which put the government for the future into the hands of a Protector, a Council of State, and a Parliament, was established without any further difficulty, and with small modifications remained the same for the next few years.

Harrison vanished for a time from the stage of political action; he only appeared now and then at moments when some threatening disturbance caused him to be imprisoned, or subjected to serious restraint. One of his adversaries describes him "as being carried from castle to castle through most parts of the nation, like an exiled malefactor." In September 1654, the Baptists got up a petition, and proposed that Harrison should present it to Parliament. Cromwell's answer was the immediate arrest of Harrison, "but after two or three days' time in prison he was sent for to the Court, and entertained there privately at dinner with rich wines, eight or ten good dishes of meat, and as many gentlemen to attend him. After dinner the Protector came, and professed his great affection for him, and high esteem of his great worth, which alone moved him to send for him now, that he might discharge the office of a friend, by admonishing him not to persist in those deceitful and slippery ways, whose end is destruction; and at the last, with much good counsel and great civility dismissed and enlarged him" (Clarendon Papers, 2. 397).

Again in February 1655, there was a talk of a rising of the Fifth Monarchy men and others, and

Harrison made a request to Cromwell that he would liberate certain prisoners. Cromwell summoned him with Colonel Rich, Mr John Carew, and Mr Hugh Courtenay, well-known Fifth Monarchy leaders, before the Council, and ordered him to abstain from political action. Ludlow reports that in the interview Cromwell "required such of them as had commissions to surrender them, upbraiding Harrison with his carriage to him, and charging him with coveting his employment when he was sick in Scotland; and because they refused to engage not to act against him and his Government, he ordered them to several prisons."

Thurloe, the Secretary of State, wrote a complete report of the whole sequence of events connected with this summons to General Monk, one of the greatest of all Cromwell's satraps, who was in command of the troops in Scotland.

"*Secretary Thurloe to General Monk.*

February 1655.

SIR,—I suppose you will heare from other hands of the imprisonment of Major-General Harrison, Mr John Carew, Mr Courtney, and Colonel Rich. I will trouble you with the particular reasons and grounds thereof, and that truely not knowing how they may be represented by others. About ten days since they with some others came to his Highnesse, (after that Mr Rogers with very many of his people had been with him concerneing the imprisonment of himselfe and Mr Feake), and demanded of him that the prisoners of the Lord might be set at liberty. Whereunto his Highnesse answeared them, that if they were the prisoners of the Lord they should soon be set at

liberty but that hee was sure there was nobody in England in prison for the Lord's sake or the Gospel's sake. And these two persons were soe far from being in bonds uppon any such account, that they were in prison as evill doers, as for railing, reviling, telling untruths, stirring up the people to armes, etc., which he said he had already made appeere to Mr Rogers himselfe, and could also satisfie them when there was time for it; and to that end he told them, hee should desire to speak with them at some more convenient time (it being then too late) when he should deale very plainly with them, and would be content to bee soe dealt with by them, and to heare what they had to say against the way that he was now in. And soe they went away. About two daies after his Highnesse sent to them that he would speak with them the next day at nine of the clock, Harrison and Courtney promised to come, but after it seemes they repented, for they came not. My Lord, thinking there might be some mistake in the message, sent a second time, haveing appointed some Christians to be present, who might heare the discourse. But Major-General Harrison then said, that if he had been required to come he should have been more free, but was not free to come uppon a desire; the rest had all notice but all refused to come. Then his Highnesse summoned them by a warrant in writeing, required them to appeare before him or the Councell uppon a certain day to answer such thinges as shall bee objected against them concerning the peace of the nation. When they were served with the warrant Harrison said hee would come, but did not, nor any of the rest.

"Upon this contempt, and because of the certaine information that my Lord had of their endeavour to stirr upp the people against the Government, and to seduce some persons from their trust (and that of the greatest moment) which they held under the State, hee sent for them in safe custody, and they were brought hether upon Friday in the Afternoone. And because things might bee carried on in a Christian manner his Highnesse had present, when they were called in before him and the Councell, several sober Christians and ministers as Mr Carryl, Mr Brooks, Mr Cradock, Mr Recorder, and others, some whereof were the Irish officers, and at the desire of Major-General Harrison and the others, there were alsoe called in Mr Sympson, Mr Bankes, Mr Pendarvis, etc. That which was first asked them was, why they had in contempt of authoritie refused to come uppon the summons which had bin sent; whereunto, after they had desired to know whether there was any thing against them but their contempt, they plainely answered, that they could not come, because in that act they should acknowledge the Government, which they could not doe, it being a Government set up against the will of God, and in opposition to the Kingdome of Christ, and was antichristian and Babylonish, and they did expect that God would pour out his Wrath upon it, and those that did adheere to it, and they did not come, least some of the drops of Wrath should fall uppon them, and therein they obeyed the Scripture, which calls to the Daughter of Sion to come out of Babylon. Mr Carew added that my Lord Protector, when the little parliament was dissolved, tooke the Crown off from the head of Christ,

and put it upon his owne. It would be too large to tell all particulars; some of the principalls they layd down are thaes. That the magistrate, which is carnal, hath no right, nor can have; and the greate objection which they made against this Government was because it had a parliament in it, whereby power is derived from the People, whereas all power belongs to Christ. And it beeing demanded of them, whether they would engage to live peacebly and not disturbe the peace of the Nation, they refused to doe it; and it beeing pressed uppon them to doe it, because of the protection they had, they denied they received any protection from the present Government, and that they owed their protection onely to God, and they should expect the same quiet protection from God if the whole army were disbanded tomorrow. This was the sume of what they said, and indeed it seemed strange to all that heard them. Mr Cradock professed hee would not for any thing he had bin absent, saying hee could not have believed that their principles were such as they did discover, and so said everybody else. After the company was withdrawn the Councell did offer to them, that if they would retire into their own Counties, and promise not to come forth with out leave, it would bee all that would bee expected, viz. Major-General Harrison into Staffordshire, John Carew and Courtney into Cornwall, and Rich into Kent; but they utterly refused it. And thereupon they are ordered to stand committed, which I assure you is done of pity to them, and some other people who are led by them, as well as for the sake of the nation, that they may not put things into Blood and Confusion, and bee made use of by the Cavaliers

and vile Leavelling party to destroy and utterly roote out all that are good and Godly in the Land. Before they were committed, his Highnesse told them that they were not onely committed for the contempt, but because they had acted against the Government and the peace of the nation, and particularly tould every one of them what hee had against them: Major-General Harrison, that hee had not onely countenanced those who declaymed publicquely against the Government, but had persuaded some of the lawfullnesse of taking up armes against it; John Carew, that he had not onely done that Major-General Harrison had, but endeavoured to seduce some great officers from their Trust; that Colonel Rich endeavoured to hinder the raising of the tax, and Courtney had been in Norfolk and their perswadede the Churches to take arms, and in the West hee declaired his opposition, and saide that at London hee should find both hands and hearts enow to overthrow this Government. To this they made no answer at all. Thus you have had a very long account of this businesse, which I was willing to doe to prevent misinterpretacions. And it is certain their party will endeavour to doe it, as they doe heare, and labour to perswade that all Christians are concerned in this imprisonment, when the contrary is true to some of the saints of this nation (who) doe disown them, and their courses, and take these things to bee the effect of wrath and envy, and judge them to bee under a great temptacion.

"Many, very many of the Churches of Christ, as well as those under baptisme as others in Scotland and England, have acknowledged the Government in writing under their hands since the dissolution of the

parliament. I know it is a trouble to my Lord Protectour to have any one who is a saint in truith to be greeved or unsatisfied with him; but he is comforted that what hee doth in these cases, hee doth it for God's and the Saints' sake, and opposes therein that spirritt which is of the world, which God in his providence all along hath borne witnesse against, viz., that spirritt which would impose upon the consciences of others, and break all in peeces who will not bow down to theire apprehencions. The presbyterians speake as well of the Kingdom of Christ as these men, and many of them as holy, and I am sure much more knowing in Spiritual things. J. T."

Major-General Harrison was imprisoned in Portland and in April was removed to Carisbrooke, where he had the society of Mr John Rogers, a famous Fifth Monarchy preacher, who gives a very detailed description of the indignities and persecutions they suffered at the hands of the garrison. Shortly after this, in March 1656, Harrison was allowed to go to his father-in-law's house in Highgate, and lived there in restraint for the next year, in the course of which his father-in-law died. It was at this time he was in constant communication with General Ludlow, and gave Ludlow all the information concerning the last days of the Long Parliament which that stern and strict Republican has embodied in his memoirs. Ludlow recounts a long visit which he paid to Harrison at Highgate and which explains to a great extent Harrison's failure in any attempt successfully to oppose Cromwell.

"Divers conspiracies that had been formed against the Government of the usurper being already defeated,

and the authors of them for the most part punished, he was prevailed with to permit Major-General Harrison and Mr Carew, whom he had sent to remote confinements, to be prisoners at their own habitations; and accordingly he ordered Major Strange to go to Carisbrooke Castle and to bring the major-general to his house at Highgate; where, when I was acquainted with his arrival, I went to make him a visit, and having told him that I was very desirous to be informed by him of the reasons that moved him to join with Cromwell in the interruption of the civil authority, he answered that he had done it, 'because he was fully persuaded they hadn't a heart to do any more good for the Lord and his People.' 'Then,' said I, 'are you not now convinced of your error, in entertaining such thoughts, specially since it has been seen what use has been made of the usurped power?' to which he replied, 'upon their heads be the guilt, who have made a wrong use of it; for my part, my heart was upright and sincere in the thing.' I answered, 'that I conceived it not to be sufficient in matters of so great importance to mankind, to have only good intentions and designs, unless there be also probable means of attaining those ends by the methods we enter upon; and though it should be granted that the Parliament was not inclined to make so full a reformation of things amiss as might be desired, yet I could not doubt that they would have done as much good for us, as the nation was fitted to receive; and therefore that extraordinary means ought not to have been used till it had been clearly evident that the ordinary had failed, especially since it could not but be manifest to every man, who observed the state of our affairs,

that upon the suppression of the civil authority, the power would immediately devolve upon that person who had the greatest interest in the army.' His second reason for joining with Cromwell was, because he pretended to own and favour a sort of men, who acted upon higher principles than those of civil liberty. I replied, that I thought him mistaken in that also, since it had not appeared that he ever approved of any person or things farther than he might make them subservient to his own ambitious designs; reminding him that the generality of the people that had engaged with us having acted upon no higher principles than those of civil liberty, and that they might be governed by their own consent, it could not be just to treat them in another manner upon any pretence whatsoever. The major-general then cited a passage of the prophet Daniel, where 'tis said, 'that the saints shall take the kingdom and possess it.' To which he added another to the same effect, 'that the kingdom shall not be left to another people.' I answered, that the same prophet says in another place, 'that the kingdom shall be given to the saints of the Most High,' and that I conceived, if they should presume to take it before it was given, they would at the best be guilty of doing evil that good might come from it."

These arguments, and especially Ludlow's point about having the kingdom *given* and not *taking* it, probably appealed very strongly to the mystical mind of the major-general, and this may account for his failure again and again to seize the passing opportunity for successful revolt.

About this time Harrison and his wife joined the sect of the Baptists, and were publicly baptised by the

Baptist leaders. His enemies at once declared that he submitted to baptism in order to range among his followers this powerful and increasing sect; more likely it was his striking trust in the Divine mission of preachers who interested him, which caused him to avow his conviction of sin and make humble confession of his own weakness by this conspicuous ceremony.

Again in April 1657, there were rumours of a plot to be headed by Venner, one of the Fifth Monarchy leaders. Harrison was immediately arrested, and later in February 1658, was sent to the Tower. On September 3, 1658, Oliver Cromwell died, and was succeeded by his son Richard. This brought about Harrison's release, and he returned to his home in Staffordshire. During the rapid changes of these last days of the Republic, Harrison's name was frequently in men's mouths as a probable leader in some daring attempt to upset the Government, and establish the Fifth Monarchy in its place. But his uncompromising character had divided him from all the other principal leaders of the Parliament and of the army, and he appears never to have been asked to take any prominent part in the long struggle which terminated in the Restoration. Lambert, also, we are told, had at one time refused to work with him, and insisted that he should not be allowed to sit in the restored Parliament.

The closing months of the Republic in England were clouded by the personal quarrels of the leaders. Hazelrigg was quarrelling with Vane, Vane with Nevill, Ludlow with Sidney. "In the army," writes Major Wood, "Fleetwood, Desborough, and Lambert are of very little account among their soldiers, who have measured their characters and purpose to climb

up into their places." The inferior officers of the army wished to form a new military Council of State, in which some six Fifth Monarchy men were to have seats; among them Major-General Harrison. And the opportunity of the Fifth Monarchy men appeared to be so near, that "five thousand of them collected at Horsham in Sussex, and passed eight hours in deliberation before they parted, two or three thousand of them are well provided with arms, and they appointed officers for each regiment and company. A large number of people think that power will pass into their hands, and this alarms people, especially the possessors of large fortunes, who have so far kept them in safety by toadying the dominant party." (Thurloe Papers.)

All this came to nothing, the ablest of the leaders were too much occupied with obtaining redress for past grievances to have energy left for reorganising the State. Slaves had to be brought back from Barbadoes, to which a great number had been exported: sympathy had to be extended to a man like Major-General Browne, who said from his place in the House, "I was used worse than a Cavalier, taken and sent away prisoner to Wales, used with more cruelty than in Newgate, in a worse prison than common prisoners. . . They kept me five years in prison, and never laid aught to my charge."

All the oppressions of the Protectoral Government were brought forward in review. The most horrible was the treatment of Naylor, of whom Burton writes in his diary: "I went to see Naylor's tongue bored through, and him marked on the forehead. He put out his tongue very willingly, but shrank a little when the iron came upon his forehead. He was pale when



MAJOR-GENERAL LAMBERT.

(From the engraving by Houbraken after the painting by Walker in the National Portrait Gallery.)

he came out of the pillory, but high coloured after tongue boring. He was bound with a cord by both arms to the pillory. Rich, the mad merchant, sat bareheaded at Naylor's feet all the time. Sometimes he sang and cried, and stroked his hair and face, and kissed his hand, and sucked the fire out of his forehead. Naylor embraced his executioner and behaved himself very handsomely and patiently: a great crowd of people there."

Enquiries into individual suffering like this diverted attention from greater matters. Colonel Adrian Scrope complained that "the enemies of God now exceedingly insult, and think to carry all before them."

During all these rumours and complaints, Harrison, though he was constantly expected to move, seems to have formed no definite plan of action. At last the opportunity was passed, and the end came. At the time of the Restoration, Harrison was residing at his house at Newcastle-under-Lyme; the manner of his arrest at the end of April 1660 is described by Ludlow.

"Sir Charles Coote having opened the bloody scene by the seizure of the Chief Justice Cook in Ireland, a party of the Staffordshire militia, commanded by one Colonel Bowyer, thought themselves sufficiently authorised to act in the like manner; and therefore seized Major-General Harrison with his horse and arms, he having refused, upon advance of their intentions, to withdraw himself from his house, accounting such an action to be a desertion of the cause in which he had engaged; though many precepts and examples might be produced, even from the Scriptures to

justify men who endeavour to avoid the cruelty of enemies and persecutors, by removing themselves where they can be protected. For that only can be called desertion of the cause, when men disown it to save their own lives and not when they endeavour to secure themselves by lawful means in order to promote it. But I shall not take upon me to censure the conduct of the major-general, not knowing what extraordinary impulse one of his virtues, piety, and courage may have had upon his mind in that conjuncture."

In a pamphlet of the times we are told that Harrison was "looking for the immediate reign of our Saviour upon earth. There was little more observable in this passage of his life but what were immediate forerumours of his death. Major-General Lambert, having made an escape from the Tower, had pre-engaged some factious persons in the country, of which this Harrison was one, to raise forces against the King, who was now voiced in most parts of the nation, to be returning home. But Harrison was taken in the very point of time wherein he intended to have headed a party, and was brought prisoner to the Tower of London, where he continued some months before he was arraigned in the Old Bailey."

Chapter XIII

Trial of the Regicides

1660

Arrest of the Regicides—No possible reprieve for Harrison—The grand Jury at Hick's Hall—Speech by Sir Orlando Bridgman—Challenging the Jury—Harrison the first to be tried—Speeches by the Crown lawyers—The evidence—Harrison's defence—He is prevented from justifying himself—His confident tone—The verdict and the judgment—Harrison's final opportunity.

HARRISON was arrested by Colonel Bowyer, at the close of the month of April 1660, and was brought at once to London, and committed to the Tower. Already on the 1st of May, the new Parliament, freely elected by the old constituencies, had entered into negotiations with the King, On the 8th he was solemnly proclaimed both in London and Westminster. On the 29th Charles made his triumphal entry into the city, and on the 6th of June a proclamation was issued which commanded the Regicides to surrender themselves within fourteen days. A Bill of indemnity was immediately introduced in the House of Commons, and on the 29th of August received the King's consent, which ensured to most of the opponents of the Crown in the Civil War freedom from accusation for their deeds. From this act of indemnity all Regicides

who had been arrested, as well as several of those who had surrendered themselves, were excluded by name.

Nobody had any doubt that whoever else might be allowed to escape, General Thomas Harrison must suffer the full penalty of the law. He more than any other man, save perhaps Cromwell and Ireton, had been the instigator of the King's death ; indeed, he had claimed that the King ought to be executed as an act of vengeance for his misconduct, before Cromwell and Ireton could find it in their hearts to agree to so daring an act, and there was scarccly a member of the new Government but had at one time or another suffered ill usage at his hands. Not only had he been guilty of the King's death, but he had specially directed the last purging of the House of Commons in December 1648, and had played a very prominent part in the expulsion of the Long Parliament in April 1653. He it was who, some said, had handed down, others said dragged down, the Speaker from his Chair of State ; and he had sat at the side of Cromwell when the general had announced his momentous decision to dissolve the Long Parliament. Harrison, therefore, was absolutely excluded from the Act of Indemnity, and was left to take his trial for his life before the forthcoming special commission of Oyer and Terminer, which was to be opened at Hick's Hall on the 9th of October.

The commission was issued to the Lord Mayor and a number of peers and gentlemen of the army, among whom was Lord Clarendon, the Lord Chancellor, full of plans for the reasonable and liberal development of the constitution of England. On the benches with him sat Monk, now Duke of Albermarle, who

more than any other man had restored the sovereign; the old Parliamentary leader Lord Saye and Sele, once so eager for the ruin of Archbishop Laud; the Earl of Manchester, under whose banner Oliver Cromwell himself had at one time served; Denzil Hollis, some time leader of the House of Commons, and then compelled to fly for his life at the close of 1648; Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who had contended with Harrison for the mastery of the Little Parliament; the Lord Chief Baron, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, who presided over the trials, and other lords, gentlemen, and judges.

The first business was to bring a Bill of Indictment against all the Regicides before the Grand Jury, who were addressed in a most statesman-like speech by Sir Orlando Bridgeman. In a few opening words he pointed out to them that by the Statute of 25 Edward III. it was made high treason to compass or imagine the death of the King; so carefully did the laws protect the sacred person of the sovereign upon whom the prosperity of the Commonwealth depended. He told them "that if men shall go and consult together (and this is to kill the King, to put him to death), this consultation is clearly an overt act to prove this imagination of compassing the King's death," and added, "that no authority or person or persons had any coercive power over the King of England. The King is immediately from God, and hath no superior." He cautioned them that by this he did not mean that the King was endued with arbitrary or autocratic power, "God forbid that I should intend any absolute Government by this; it is one thing to have a monarchy, another thing to have that

government absolutely without laws. . . . . The King can do no wrong, he cannot be punished for any wrong. The King hath the infirmities and weakness of a man, but he cannot do any injury, at least not considerable, in person, he must do it by ministers, agents, instruments; these are punishable for wrong doing."

He went on to describe how the death of Charles I. had been carried out by a few of the members of the House of Commons, not an eighth part of the whole; he related the willingness of the King to make large concessions to his Parliament; he treated the execution of the King as something unparalleled, an "aggravated villainy," and concluded, "you are now to enquire on blood, on Royal blood, on sacred blood, blood like that of the Saints under the altar, crying, Quousque Domine? This blood cries for vengeance, and it will not be appeased without a bloody sacrifice."

A number of witnesses were then examined, and the Grand Jury that same day returned a true Bill against the prisoners.

The next day, the 10th October, Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, delivered the prisoners to the Sheriff, who removed them to Newgate, and they were brought into the Session House of the Old Bailey about nine o'clock.

The three first to be indicted amongst the Regicides were Sir Hardress Waller, General Harrison, and Mr William Heveningham; they were told to hold up their hands, whereupon Harrison said, "My Lord, if you please, I will speak a word." He was at once stopped by the Court, and told he should be heard in

due time. The indictment was then read. "That he, together with others, not having the fear of God before his eyes, and being instigated by the devil, did maliciously, treasonably, and feloniously, contrary to his due allegiance, and bounden duty, sit upon and condemn our late sovereign lord, King Charles of ever blessed memory; and also did upon the 30th of January 1648, sign and seal a warrant for the execution of his late sacred and serene majesty, of blessed memory."

Sir Hardress Waller was one of the most famous commanders in the New Model Army; he had long ruled over the north of Ireland. Being generally absent from England, he had taken no very special part in the politics of the time. No doubt the order by which he was the first to be tried, had been carefully considered by the advisers of the King; they knew that he was prepared to beg for pardon, and they hoped that the timid submission of so famous a warrior would take the heart out of the defence of the others.

Sir Hardress as had been agreed upon pleaded guilty. The Clerk then addressed Harrison. "Thomas Harrison, how sayest thou? art thou guilty of the treason whereof thou standest indicted? and art now arraigned, or not guilty?" Harrison replied, "My Lord, have I liberty to speak?"

The Chief Baron explained to him that all he could do at that moment was to plead either guilty or not guilty; but Harrison continued to argue with him until he was told that if he had no plea he would be proceeded against as the law commanded, that is to say, by being slowly squeezed to death. At last,

a "not guilty" was extorted from him, and he was asked "how will you be tried?" He answered, "I will be tried according to the laws of the Lord." He was told that he must answer, "By God and the country." He objected to these words as vain words; but at last he gave way. The other Regicides were then brought forward in their turn. This occupied the whole of the session of October 10th.

On October 11th, the Court reassembled and six of the prisoners were set at the bar. Thomas Harrison, Adrian Scrope, John Carew, John Jones, Gregory Clement, and Thomas Scott. They were supplied with pen, ink, and paper, and informed that they might challenge any of the jury. The prisoners made the fullest use of their opportunity, and as each had the right to thirty-five challenges, it became evident that the method of trying them in a body would cause long delays. Accordingly the Court decided to try Harrison alone first. Harrison exercised freely his right of objecting. At some mocking which came from the spectators, he remonstrated, and was at once supported by the Chief Baron. He justified the number of his challenges by saying, "If I have any apprehension or knowledge of them, that is the thing which leads me to it"; showing how convinced he was that a jury from the City of London was not likely to acquit him.

Finally, a jury was constituted of which Sir Thomas Allen was foreman. The names of the witnesses were called, and the Chief Baron had the Court sufficiently cleared to let the prisoner see the faces of the jury. The indictment was read, and the Solicitor-General, Sir Heneage Finch, proceeded to address the Jury, driving

home the charge of the murder of the King, and repeating the arguments which the Lord Chief Baron had used on the 9th with much more violence and much less discretion.

"Some six or seven of the King's judges," he said, "have had their lives spared. Some eighteen or nineteen have fled from justice, and wander to and fro about the world with the mark of Cain upon them, and perpetual trembling lest every eye that sees them, and every hand that meets them should fall upon them. Twenty-nine persons do now expect your justice. Amongst them the first that is brought is the prisoner at the bar, and he deserves to be the first; for if any person now left alive ought to be styled the conductor, leader, and captain of all this work, that's the man. He, my Lord, brought the King up a prisoner from Windsor, but how, and in what manner, with how little duty, nay with how little civility, to a common person, you will hear in time. He sat upon him, sentenced him, he signed the warrant first to call that Court together, then the bloody warrant to cut off his sacred head. Against him, as against all the rest, our evidence will be of two sorts; witnesses *vivâ voce* that shall first prove to your Lordships that every person now in question did sit in that Court, when their King stood as a prisoner at the bar. We shall prove that the precept by which this pretended Court was summoned was not obeyed and executed till it had had the hands and seals of most of the pretended judges; among the rest the hand of the prisoner at the bar will be found there. We shall prove his hand to the bloody warrant for severing the sacred head of our blessed sovereign from the body, and then some cir-

cumstances of his malice and of his demeanour. And after we have done with our witnesses *vivâ voce*, if we have occasion to use records of Parliament, we shall then show them too, for we have the originals, or authentic copies. But now we shall proceed to our evidence."

Sir Edward Turner, another of the Crown lawyers, followed Finch; and then the first witness was called. On this summons Harrison turned to the Bench, and said, "When I was before your lordship yesterday I offered something very material in reference to the jurisdiction of the Court; but you told me according to the rule I must plead guilty or not guilty, and what I had to offer should be heard in its proper place. I now desire to know whether it be proper now to deliver myself, before you proceed to the calling of witnesses, for I would go the best way, and would not willingly displease you."

LORD CHIEF BARON—"What was promised you yesterday God forbid but you should have it. But I think it will be best for you to hear the evidence, and then what you have to say you shall be fully heard."

Mr HARRISON—"I am content."

Whereupon George Masterson, Stephen Kirk, Francis Hearn, William Clark, Robert Coytmore, and James Nutley, were called and sworn.

The witnesses established that they had seen Harrison sitting in the High Court of Justice, on the 27th of January 1648, the day of the sentence. Further, Mr Nutley, one of their number, had seen him present at the committee which prepared the impeachment for the High Court of Justice on the 20th

of January 1648, and had heard him then narrate, "some discourses that passed between His late Majesty and himself in coming between Windsor and London or Hurst Castle; I know not well whether . . . He said that the King as he sat in the coach with him was importunate to know what they intended to do with him."

Mr HARRISON—"In the coach was it?"

NUTLEY—"Yea, Sir, it was in the coach.* He told the rest of the company (as I said before) that the King asked 'What do they intend to do with me? Whether to murder me or no?' And I said to him, there was no such intention, as to kill him we have no such thoughts. But saith he, the Lord hath reserved you for a public example of justice. There is one word more, my Lords, and that is this, which I heard from this prisoner at the bar, that the reason and end of their meeting together at that committee was concerning the charge. So much I observed. I observed that some found fault with the length of that, as it was drawn. They were offering some reasons to contract it, and I heard this prisoner at the bar vent this expression, 'Gentlemen, it will be good for us to blacken him what we can; pray let us blacken him'; or words to that purpose. I am sure blacken was his word."

Lord Newborough was then called as a witness. He gave evidence that at the Royal Lodge at Bagshot sentries were set at the doors to prevent the King's escape.

The warrant for the trial of the King was next produced by Mr Jessop, and evidence given that the signature of Harrison's name was in his own hand,

* See Herbert's account pp. 82, 83.

whereupon Harrison asked to see the instrument, and on seeing it said, "I believe it is my own hand."

The warrant for the execution was then shown to him, and he said, "I do believe it is my own hand too." He added, "I do not come to be denying anything that in my own judgment and conscience I have done or committed, but rather to be bringing it forth to the light."

The two warrants, one for the trial, and one for the execution of the King, were then read, and Mr Windham summed up the evidence for the Crown. At the close of his speech the spectators hummed, but were at once stopped by the indignant Chief Baron. "Gentlemen," he said, "this humming is not at all becoming the gravity of the Court. Let there be free speaking by the prisoner and counsel. It is more fitting for a stage play than for a Court of Justice."

Harrison's turn had now come.

HARRISON—"It is now time, my Lords, to offer what I have to say. Have these learned gentlemen offered what they will say?"

COUNSEL—"We have no more till he hath given us occasion; not for evidence of the fact."

HARRISON—"My Lords, the matter that hath been offered to you, as it was touched, was not a thing done in a corner. I believe the sound of it hath been in most nations. I believe the hearts of some have felt the terrors of that presence of God that was with His servants in those days (however it seemeth good to Him to suffer this turn to come on us), and are witnesses that the things were not done in a corner. I have desired, as in the sight of Him that searcheth all hearts, whilst this hath been done, to wait, and receive

from Him convictions upon my own conscience, though I have sought it with tears many a time, and prayers over and over, to that God to whom you and all nations are less than a drop of water in a bucket: and to this moment I have received rather assurance of it, and that the things that have been done as astonishing on one hand, I do believe ere it be long it will be made known from heaven, there was more from God than men are aware of. I do profess that I would not offer of myself the least injury to the poorest man or woman that goes upon the earth. That I have humbly to offer is this to your Lordships; you know what a contest hath been in these nations for many years. Divers of those that sit upon the Bench were formerly as active——"

COURT—"Pray, Mr Harrison, do not thus reflect upon the Court. This is not the business."

HARRISON—"I followed not my own judgment; I did what I did, as out of conscience to the Lord; for when I found those that were as the apple of mine eye" [*i.e.* Cromwell and the other generals] "to turn aside, I did loathe them, and suffered imprisonment many years. Rather than to turn as many did, that did put their hand to the plough, I chose rather to be separated from wife and family than to have compliance with them, though it was said, 'sit at my right hand,' and such kind of expressions. Thus I have given a little poor testimony that I have not been doing things in a corner, or from myself. May be I might be a little mistaken; but I did it all according to the best of my understanding, desiring to make the revealed will of God in his Holy Scriptures as a guide to me. I humbly conceive that what was done was done in the name of

the Parliament of England, that what was done was done by their power and authority; and I do humbly conceive it is my duty to offer unto you in the beginning that this Court, or any Court below the High Court of Parliament, hath no jurisdiction of their actions. Here are many learned in the law, and to shorten the work, I desire I may have the help of counsel learned in the laws, that may in this matter give me a little assistance to offer those grounds that the law of the land doth offer. I say, what was done was done by the authority of the Parliament, which was then the supreme authority, and that those that have acted under them are not to be questioned by any power less than them. And for that I conceive there is much out of the laws to be showed to you and many Precedents also in the case. Much is to be offered to you in that; according to the laws of the nations, that was a due Parliament. Those Commissions were issued forth, and what was done was done by their power; and whereas it has been said we did assume and usurp on authority, I say this was done rather in the Fear of the Lord."

COURT—"Away with him. Know where you are, Sir; you are in the assembly of Christians: will you make God the author of your treasons and murders? Take heed where you are. Christians must not hear this. We will allow you to say for your own defence what you can; and we have with a great deal of patience suffered you to sally out, wherein you have not gone about so much for extenuation of your crimes, as to justify them, to fall upon others, and to blaspheme God, and commit a new treason: for your having of counsel, this is the reason for allowing of

counsel; when a man would plead anything, because he would plead it in formality, counsel is allowed. But you must first say in what the matter shall be, and then you shall have the Court's answer."

LORD FINCH—"Though my Lords here have been pleased to give you a great latitude, this must not be suffered, that you should run into these damnable excursions, to make God the Author of this damnable treason committed."

HARRISON—"I have two things to offer to you, to say for my defence in matter of law. One is, that this that hath been done was done by a Parliament of England, by the Commons of England assembled in Parliament; and that being so, whatever was done by their commands or their authority, is not questionable by your Lordships, as being (as I humbly conceive) a power inferior to that of the High Court of Parliament; that is one. A second is this, that what, therefore, any did in obedience to that power and authority, they are not to be questioned for it; otherwise we are in a most miserable condition, bound to obey them that are in authority, and yet to be punished if obeyed. We are not to judge what is lawful or what is unlawful. My Lords, upon these two points I do desire that those that are learned in the laws may speak too on my behalf. It concerns all my countrymen. There are cases alike to this, you know, in King Richard II.'s time, wherein some question had been of what had been done by a Parliament; and what followed upon it I need not urge in it. I hope it will seem good to you that counsel may be assigned, for it concerns all my countrymen."

COUNSEL—"You are mistaken, if you appeal to

your countrymen; they will cry you out and shame you."

Mr HARRISON—"May be so, my Lords, some will, but I am sure others will not."

Mr SOLICITOR-GENERAL—"These two points, my Lords, are but one, and they are a new treason, at the bar for which he deserves to die if there were no other indictment. It is the malice of his heart to the dignity and crown of England. I say, this is not matter for which counsel can be assigned. Counsel cannot put into form that which is not matter pleadable itself; it is so far from being true, that this was the act of the supreme Parliament of the people of England, that there was nothing received with more heart bleeding than this bloody business, but that the world may not be abused by the insinuations of a man, who acts as if he had a spirit, and is possessed; in truth, I will say, that the Lords and Commons are not a Parliament; that the King and Lords cannot do anything without the Commons; nor the King and Commons without the Lords; nor the Lords and Commons without the King, especially against the King. If they do, they must answer it with their heads; for the King is not accountable to any coercive power and for the prisoner to justify his act, as if it were the act of the Commons of England, he is very much to be reproved: shall he pretend that one House, nay, the eighth part of a House (for so it was), can condemn a King, when both Houses cannot condemn one man in spite of the King? I desire, my Lords, it may pass with a due reproach and sentence upon it."

LORD CHIEF BARON—"It is true, your questions

are but one point. You pretend the Parliament's authority, and when you come to speak of it, you say the Commons of England. They were but one House of Parliament. The Parliament, what is that? It is the King, the Lords, and the Commons. I would fain know of you wherever you read, by the light you say you have in your conscience, that the Commons of England were a Parliament of England, that the Commons in Parliament used a legislative power alone. Do you call that a Parliament that sat when the House was *purged*, as they call it, and was so much under the awe of the army, who were then but forty or forty-five at most? Then you say it was done by authority of them. We must know where there is such an authority (which indeed is no authority); he that confirms such an authority, he commits a double offence; therefore consider what your plea is. If your plea were doubtful, we should, and ought, and would, ourselves be of counsel for you. That which you speak concerning 'conviction of your own conscience,' remember that it is said in Scripture, that 'they shall think they did God good service when they slay you,' as it is in St John. He hath a great deal of charity that thinks that what you did was out of a conscientious principle; it was against the light of noonday and common practice. You make yourself a solicitor in the business, 'let us blacken him as much as we can.' I have not touched at all upon the evidence, I will not urge it now. I say you justify it upon 'convictions of conscience,' and pretend it upon authority; a thing never known or seen under the sun, that the Commons, nay a few Commons alone, should take upon them, and call themselves the Parliament

of England. We have been cheated enough by names and words; there is no colour for what you say. I do think, and hope my brethren will speak to this case, that none of us do own that convention, whatsoever it be, to be the Parliament of England. There was another aggravation; at this time that this pretended authority usurped that power, the Lords were then sitting. You had not taken this usurped power to dissolve those Lords. No; you did this act in despight of the Lords; you had sent up an ordinance to the Lords, and they rejected it, and thereupon these members took it upon themselves; amongst those there were some negatives, and those members were under the awe and power of your forces at that time. What you plead, the Court are of opinion tends to the subversion of the laws; for you to usurp power over the people without their consents, to call this the people, we never knew the like before; but the Parliament of England was the King, Lords and Commons. For you to speak of this power, and justify this power, is an aggravation, adding one sin and treason to another. We shall tell you, that neither both Houses of Parliament, if they had been there, not any single person, community, not the people either collectively or representatively, had any colour to have any coercive power over their King. On this plea which you have spoken of, it ought to be overruled and not to stand good."

Mr ANNESLEY (one of the Commission for the trial, and a very prominent man at the Restoration) —"I do the more willingly speak to this business, because I was one of those that should have made up that Parliament that this prisoner pretends to.

I was one of that 'corrupt majority' (as they called it) that were put out of the House. He cannot forget that at that time there were guards upon both Houses of Parliament to attend them, that were of their own appointment; and that those guards were forcibly removed by the prisoner at the bar, and his fellows, and other guards put there, who instead of being a defence unto them when those Commons stood at the door, were by them threatened. Yet the Lords and Commons of England in Parliament assembled, a full House of Commons, did resolve notwithstanding what was aforesaid, that the treaty in the Isle of Wight 'was a ground for peace.' Afterwards the major part of the House of Commons having resolved on this, sent it up to the Lords; that very day when they were adjourned there were forces drawn down to the House of Commons door, and none suffered to come into the House but those that they pleased. All those that had a mind for peace, that minded their duty, and trust, and allegiance to their King, were seized on by this gentleman and his fellows. When this was done, what did he and those fellows do? They sat and put a check upon all those that should come in. None must come in but those that would renounce their allegiance and duty to their King and the people for whom they served, and then declared against that vote which had been passed upon debate of twelve or fourteen hours; and then to call this a House of Commons, nay, the supreme Authority of the nation, he knows is against the laws of the land. For the House of Commons alone cannot as much as give an oath. It hath not power of judicature of life and

death: this he knows well to be according to the laws of England. He knows that no authority less than an Act of Parliament can make a law; and he knows an Act of Parliament must be passed by the King, Lords, and Commons. I wonder much to hear a justification in this kind by one that knows the laws of England so well. There will none of the Court allow that that was a Parliament: the majority of the House did all disavow it. These things have already been discoursed of. I shall only say, that he, knowing the laws so well, I hope he shall suffer for transgression thereof."

Mr DENZIL HOLLIS—"You do very well know that this that you did, this horrid, detestable act which you committed, could never be perfected by you till you had broken the Parliament. That House of Commons, which you say gave you authority, you know what yourself made of it when you pulled out the speaker; therefore do not make the Parliament to be the author of your black crimes. It was innocent of it. You know yourself what esteem you had of it, when you broke and tore it in sunder, when you scattered, and made them hide themselves, to preserve them from your fury and violence: do not make the Parliament to be the author of your crimes. The Parliament are the three estates: it must not be admitted that one House, part of the Parliament, should be called the Supreme Authority. You know what that Rump that you left did, what laws they made. Did you go home to advise with your country that chose you for that place? You know that no Act of Parliament is binding but what is acted by King, Lords, and Commons, and now as you would

make God the author of your offences, so likewise you would make the people guilty of your opinion; but your plea is overruled." To which the Court assented.

Mr HARRISON—"I was mistaken a little. Whereas it was said the points were one, I do humbly conceive they were not so. I say what was done, was done in obedience to the authority. If it were but an order of the House of Commons, thus under a force, yet this Court is not judge of that force. I say, if it was done by one Estate of Parliament, it is not to be questioned."

COURT—"It was not done by one Estate, they were but a part; nay, but an eighth part."

Mr DENZIL HOLLIS—"It was not an House of Commons; they kept up a company by the power of the sword: do not abuse the people, in saying it was done by the supreme power."

COUNSEL—"My Lords, if it were an House of Commons, neither House of Commons, nor House of Lords, nor House of Lords and Commons together; no authority upon earth can give authority for murdering the King; this that he allegeth is treason; my Lord, this that is said is a clear evidence of that which is charged; there is only this more in it, he hath done it, and if he were to do it again, he would do it."

LORD CHIEF BARON—"It is clear as the noonday, that this was not the House of Commons. Suppose it had been a House of Commons, and full, and suppose (which far be it from me to suppose) they should have agreed upon such a murderous act; for the House of Commons to do such an act, it was void

in itself; nay, any authority without the House of Lords and King is void. You plead to the jurisdiction of the Court, whether we should judge it or no. Yes, I tell you, and proper too: we shall not speak what power we have; the judges have power after laws are made to go upon the interpretation of them. We are not to judge of those things that the Parliament do. But when the Parliament is purged (as you call it) for the Commons alone to act, for you to say that this is the authority of Parliament, it is that which every man will say 'intrenches highly upon his liberty and privilege': and what you have said to your justification, what doth it tend to but as much as this, 'I did it, justify it, and would do it again': which is a new treason. The greatest right that ever the House of Commons did claim is but over the Commons. Do they claim a particular right over the Lords? nay, over the King? Make it out if you can, but it cannot possibly be made out. What you have said doth aggravate your crimes: it is such an approvement of your treason, that all evidences come short of it: King, Lords, and Commons is the ground of the English law; without that no Parliament binds."

Justice Mallet—"I have been a Parliament man as long as any man here present, and I did never know or hear that the House of Commons had jurisdiction over any, saving their own members, which is as much as I will say concerning the Parliament. I have heard a story of a mute, that was born mute, whose father was slain by a stranger, a man unknown. After twenty years, or thereabouts, this mute man fortuned to see the murderer of his father, and these

were his words, 'Oh, here is he that slew my father.' Sir, the King is the father of the country, 'pater patriæ,' so saith Sir Edward Coke. He is caput reipublicæ, the head of the Commonwealth. Sir, what have you done? Here you have cut off the head of the whole Commonwealth, and taken away him that was our Father, the Governor of the whole country. This ye shall find printed and published in a book of the greatest lawyer, Sir Edward Coke. I shall not need, my Lord, to say more of this business. I do hold the prisoner's plea vain and unreasonable, and to be rejected."

JUSTICE HYDE—"I shall not trouble you with many words. I am sorry that any man should have the face and boldness to deliver such words as you have. You, and all, must know, that the King is above the two Houses. They must propose their laws to him: the laws are made by him, and not by them; by their consenting, but they are his laws. That which you speak as to the jurisdiction, you are here indicted for high treason; for you to come to talk of justification of this by pretence of authority, your plea is naught, illegal, and wicked, and ought not to be allowed. As to having of counsel, the Court understand what you are upon; counsel is not to be allowed in that case, and therefore your plea must be overruled."

Mr JUSTICE TWISDEN—"I shall agree with that which many have already said; only this, you have eased the jury, you have confessed the fact. I am of the same opinion, that you can have no counsel, therefore I overrule your plea, if it had been put in never so good form and manner."

EARL OF MANCHESTER—"I beseech you, my Lords, let us go some other way to work."

Sir WILLIAM WILD—"That which is before us, is whether it be a matter of law or fact; for the matter of law, your Lordships have declared what it is: his justification is as high a treason as the former. For matter of fact, he hath confessed it. I beseech you, my Lord, direct the jury for their verdict. This gentleman hath forgot their barbarousness; they would not hear their King."

COURT—"No counsel can be allowed to justify a treason; that this is a treason, you are indicted by an Act of the 25th of Edward III. That which you speak of the House of Commons, is but part of the House of the Commons; they never did, nor had any power to make a law, but by King, Lords, and Commons; and therefore your plea is naught, and all the Court here is of the same opinion; if they were not, they would say so, therefore what you have said is overruled by the Court. Have you anything else to offer?"

Mr HARRISON—"Notwithstanding the judgment of so many learned ones, that the Kings of England are no ways accountable to the Parliament, the Lords and Commons in the beginning of this war having declared the King's beginning war upon them; the God of Gods'——"

COURT—"Do you render yourself so desperate, that you care not what language you let fall? It must not be suffered."

Mr HARRISON—"I would not willingly speak to offend any man; but I know God is no respecter of persons. His setting up His standard against the people——"

COURT—"Truly, Mr Harrison, this must not be suffered; this doth not at all belong to you."

Mr HARRISON—"Under favour this doth belong to me. I would have abhorred to have brought him to account, had not the blood of Englishmen, that hath been shed——"

COUNSEL—"Methinks he should be sent to Bedlam, till he comes to the gallows, to render an account of this. This must not be suffered. It is in a manner a new impeachment of this King, to justify their treasons against his late Majesty."

SOLICITOR-GENERAL—"My Lords, I pray that the jury may go together upon the evidence."

Sir EDWARD TURNER—"My Lords, this man hath the plague all over him; it is a pity any should stand near him, for he will infect them. Let us say to him as they used to write over a house infected, 'the Lord have mercy upon them,' and so let the officer take him away."

LORD CHIEF BARON—"Mr Harrison, we are ready to hear you again; but to hear such stuff, it cannot be suffered. You have spoken that which is as high a degree of blasphemy, next to that against God, as I have heard. You have made very ill use of these favours that have been allowed you to speak; your own conscience cannot but tell you the contradiction of your actions against this that you have heard as the opinion of the Court. To extenuate your crimes you may go on, but you must not go on as before."

Mr HARRISON—"I must not speak so as to be pleasing to men; but if I must not have liberty as an Englishman——"

COURT—"Pray do not reflect thus; you have had

liberty, and more than any prisoner in your condition can expect; and I wish you had made a good use of it. Keep to the business, say what you will."

Mr HARRISON—"My Lords, thus: there was a discourse by one of the witnesses that I was at the committee preparing the charge, and that I should say 'let us blacken him.' This thing is utterly untrue; I abhorred the doing of any thing touching the blackening of the King. There was a little discourse between the King and myself. The King had told me that he had heard that I should come privately to the Isle of Wight to offer some injury to him; but I told him I abhorred the thoughts of it. And whereas it is said that my carriage was hard to him when I brought him to London, it was not I that brought him to London, I was commanded by the general to fetch him from Hurst Castle. I do not remember any hard carriage towards him."

COURT—"Mr Harrison, you have said that you deny that of blackening which the witness hath sworn; and somewhat else touching the King in his way to London, that the witness hath sworn to also. The jury must consider of it, both of their oaths and your contradictions. If you have nothing more to say, which tends to your justification, we must direct the jury. The end of your speech is nothing but to infect the people."

Mr HARRISON—"You are uncharitable in that."

JUSTICE FOSTER—"My Lords, this ought not to come from the bar to the bench; if you sally out thus about your conscience, if your conscience should be a darkened conscience, that must not be the rule of other men's actions. What you speak of that nature

is nothing to the business. If you have anything to say by way of excuse for yourself for matter of fact you may speak; but if you will go on as before, it must not be suffered."

Mr HARRISON—"The things that have been done, have been done upon the stage, in the sight of the sun."

COURT—"All this is a continuance of the justification and confession of the fact. We need no other evidence."

COUNSEL—"He hath confessed his fact, my Lords. The matter itself is treason upon treason, therefore we pray direction to the jury."

LORD CHIEF BARON—"Mr Harrison, I must give direction to the jury, if you will not go further touching the fact."

Mr HARRISON—"My Lords, I say what I did was by the supreme authority. I have said it before, and appeal to your own consciences, that this Court cannot call me to question."

LORD CHIEF BARON—"Mr Harrison, you have appealed to our consciences. We shall do that which, by the blessing of God, shall be just; for which we shall answer before the tribunal of God. Pray take heed of an obdurate, hard heart, and seared conscience."

Mr HARRISON—"My Lords, I have been kept six months a close prisoner, and could not prepare myself for this trial by counsel. I have got here some Acts of Parliament of that House of Commons, which your Lordships will not own; and the proceedings of that House, whose authority I did own."

LORD CHIEF BARON—"This you have said already. If you show never so many of that nature, they will

not help you: you have heard the opinion of the Court touching that authority. They all unanimously concur in it.

"Gentlemen of the jury, you see that this prisoner at the bar is indicted for compassing, imagining, and contriving the death of our late sovereign lord, King Charles the First of blessed memory. In this indictment there are several things given but as evidence of it; they are but the overt acts of it. The one is first, that they did meet and consult together about the putting the King to death; and that alone, if nothing else had been proved in the case, was enough for you to find the indictment; for the imagination alone is treason by the law. But because the compassing and imagining the death of the King is secret in the heart, and no man knows it but God Almighty, I say, that the imagination is treason; yet it is not such as the law can take hold of, unless it appears by some overt act. Then the first overt act is their meeting, consulting and proposing to put the King to death. The second is more open; namely their sitting together, and assuming an authority to put the King to death. The third is sentencing the King. And I must tell you, that any one of these acts prove the indictment. If you find him guilty but of any one of them, either consulting, proposing, sitting, or sentencing (though there is full proof for all), yet notwithstanding you ought to find the indictment. You have heard what the witnesses have said, and the prisoner's own confession. Witnesses have sworn their sitting together, and that he was one; one swears he sat four times, another twice, some several times. There are several witnesses for this, as Mr

Masterson, Mr Clark, Mr Kirk, and Mr Nutley. And then you have another thing, too, which truly the prisoner did not speak of. Witness was given against him that he was the person that conducted the King; this was before that which he would have to be done by a legislative power, and that is another overt act. If a man will go about to imprison the King, the law knows what is the sad effect of such imprisonment. That hath often been adjudged to be an evidence of imagining and compassing the death of the King. That man, the prisoner at the bar, it hath been proved to you, did imprison the King; as appears by his own hand to the warrant for summoning of that traitorous assembly, the High Court of Justice, as they called it. And also it appears by his hand to the warrant for execution; that bloody warrant. He hath been so far from denying, that he hath justified these actions, the evidence is so clear and pregnant as nothing more. I think you need not go out.

The jury went together at the bar, and presently unanimously agreed on their verdict; whereupon they were demanded by the clerk."

CLERK—"Are you agreed on your verdict."

JURY—"Yes."

CLERK—"Who shall say for you."

JURY—"Our foreman (which was Sir T. Allen)."

CLERK—"Thomas Harrison, hold up thy hand. Gentlemen of the jury, look upon the prisoner. How say ye? Is he guilty of the treason whereof he stands indicted, and hath been arraigned? or not guilty?"

FOREMAN.—"Guilty."

Then the keeper was charged to look to the prisoner.

CLERK.—"What goods or chattels had he at the time of committing this treason, or at any time sithence?"

FOREMAN.—"None to our knowledge."

'Which verdict being repeated to the jury by Mr Clerk of the Crown, the jury owned it unanimously.'

SOLICITOR-GENERAL—"My Lords, upon this verdict that hath been given against the prisoner at the bar I humbly move, that we may have judgment given. Your sessions will be long, and your work will be great; his demeanour hath been such that he doth not deserve a reprieve for so many days that you are like to spend in this session."

COURT—"Mr Harrison, they desire judgment upon the verdict. What do you say for yourself why judgment should not pass against you."

CLERK—"Thomas Harrison, hold up thy hand. What hast thou to say for thyself why judgment should not pass against thee to die according to law?"

Mr HARRISON—"I have nothing further to say; because the Court have not seen meet to hear what was in my heart to speak, I submit to it."

'The crier made proclamation for silence whilst judgment was in giving.'

LORD CHIEF BARON—"You that are the prisoner at the bar, you are to receive the sentence of death, which sentence is this. The judgment of this Court is, and the Court doth award that you be led back to the place from whence you came, and from thence to be drawn upon an hurdle to the place of execution; and there you shall be hanged by the neck, and being alive shall be cut down, your entrails to be taken out of your body, and, you living, the same to be burnt before

your eyes, and your head to be cut off, your body to be divided into four quarters, and head and quarters to be disposed of at the pleasure of the King's Majesty, and the Lord have mercy upon your soul."

The trial of Harrison had been legally fair; though it is true that he had not been allowed to justify his breaches of the law. The law was so plain, and he had so evidently transgressed it that no mere excuse could be of any avail. The Act defining treason under which he suffered had been a progressive and reforming measure, intended to secure the safety of the subject against too lofty claims on the part of the Royal Government to be free from all restraint. It was a law absolutely necessary to the stability of society; and its interpretation had been in no way forced in application to the particular instance under trial.

The Chief Baron, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, was one of those high-minded lawyers in whose hands political offenders were particularly safe; he behaved throughout with dignity and courtesy, and thus differed greatly in his conduct from many of the judges who succeeded him; nor had the Court used any of those subterfuges to establish the charge of constructive treason which marred the political trials at the commencement of the Long Parliament, and during the Popish plot and the reaction which followed it. There was no doubt that Harrison according to the constitution of England deserved death. He had set all legality at defiance: King, Lords, and Commons were alike overridden by his action; and he had always appealed to a higher Court than any on earth, and claimed to be directly guided by the Spirit of God. Evidently there was no room for him in the

unenthusiastic society of the Restoration, in which good and evil were so strangely interwoven, and where the profligacy of the Court contrasted so conspicuously with many beautiful and devout lives; but where in almost all parties calmness and sobriety of judgment took the place of the stormy passions and the far reaching ideals which were so characteristic of Harrison.

And if Harrison had been forbidden to say all that was in his heart concerning the event which had brought him to condemnation, there now remained a much more effective and much more suitable opportunity to unfold his principles, if he could prove that he knew how to die boldly for the cause that he had at heart. He was sentenced to die within sight of the scene of his greatest achievement, the execution of the King, and he was to be allowed every chance to express his ideals before the people. Surely it was a magnificent end to an heroic life which was now offered him.

Charing Cross, on October 13th, 1660, was to be the theatre in which the last scene of his life was to be completed.

Chapter XIV

The Execution of Harrison

1660

Reconciliation among the Regicides—Peters, Cook, and Axtell—Their Joyful Expectation of Eternity—Harrison's cheerfulness on Returning to Prison—Visit of Three City Ministers—Harrison defends (1) The King's Death; (2) Love's Death; (3) The breaking of the old Parliament; (4) His Discharge of Family Duties; (5) His Rightful Claim to Divine Guidance—Parting with his Friends at the Prison on October 13th, 1660—Special Farewell to the Prisoners—The Sledge—Words Spoken to the Crowd—Final Farewell from the Ladder—Effect of the Execution—Confidence of Axtell, Carew, etc.

THE events of the two last years had shown how entirely the party of revolution which talked so loftily about the good old cause had failed in its great purposes, because of the many divisions and ambitions which had shown themselves within it.

Very many groups of leading men, either from love of gain, or from intense determination to get such advantages as were agreeable to the bent of their own ambition, had come to open strife one with another. Sometimes the Council of Officers, sometimes the City, sometimes the House of Commons seemed to be the determining factor in the strife for power. Now all were silenced in the presence of the terrible danger which threatened to engulf them in the jaws of death.

And the feeling of their failure, and shame at its cause, were very distinctly present in the hearts and in the words of the leaders condemned to the scaffold, who almost all of them expressed a desire for reconciliation with the estranged friends who had become their rivals. It was pathetic to see the intense desire of most of them to be at peace with their former comrades. A few quotations from the pamphlets of the times will make this clear.

Mr Cook, who had acted as prosecutor of the King in the High Court of Justice, and was therefore specially obnoxious to the Parliament and the people, had been condemned to death together with the famous preacher, Mr Hugh Peters. "When some in the prison were speaking about the differences in religion," Mr Peters said, "pray talk not of controversies now, we have but a little time to live, and cannot spend it in such discourses."

Whereupon, Mr Cook said "Blessed be God, Brother Peters, we are going to heaven, where the saints are all of one mind, which my soul hath long desired to see; it rejoiceth my heart to think what a perfect happiness I shall have there; the best condition here is but mixed, but in heaven there is no sorrow nor trouble, neither have I one dram of trouble upon my spirit at this time. Blessed be God, He hath wiped away all tears, and I could with Paul and Silas sing in prison for joy, Blessed be the comforter."

Colonel Axtell, one of the bravest of the regicide soldiers, on the last night of his life, "many friends being with him, he prayed with them, and in that duty the Lord by His Spirit filled him with excellent expressions, to the great refreshing of those about

him, and wailing the great divisions amongst God's people, he said, Lord, if they will not live together in love, thou wilt make them lie together in suffering. Then, minding their present condition, he said, Lord, death is the King of terrors to nature, but it is a believer's choice friend, it is the pathway to lead us into glory."

Only they still retained their detestation for that Episcopal system which was being now revived in England.

A friend going into Gloucestershire, said to Colonel Axtell, "Sir, what message will you send to the good people in the country?"

Colonel Axtell answered, "Remember my dear love to them all, and to tell them that their prayers are answered. Bid them keep close to Christ, and let them not touch with surplice or common prayer-book; and bid them, whatever they do, love the image of Christ wherever they see it, in Presbyterian, Independent, Baptized or other; and take heed of striking in with any thing, that will strike out any of the offices of the Lord Jesus Christ."

Besides these yearnings for restoration of old friendship, most of the regicides who were put to death at this time, showed the greatest joy at the speedy introduction to the life to come, which they believed to be ensured to them by the testimony they were enabled to give even unto death.

When Harrison was brought from the Tower, on the 9th of October, 1660, he sent his wife word that that day was to him as his wedding day.

Others of them spoke with rapture of their sudden entrance into everlasting life, and told their friends

in their dying words how much they rejoiced at the advantage given them of a speedy death. Of Colonel Axtell we have this account.

"On returning from his trial at the Court to the prison with a cheerful countenance, and his wife coming to him full of trouble, he said, 'Not a tear, wife, what hurt have they done me, to send me soon to Heaven? and I bless the Lord I could have freely gone from the bar to the gibbet. They had nothing against me neither by God's law nor their own law to condemn me; nor was it ever known that a man should die for such words,' and further said, 'though men had judged, yet God had not condemned.'"

'Some taking notice of his coarse lodging, he said, "what matter is it to have a little dirty way, when we have a fair house to come into." Then looking upon friends about him, said, "if the sight of so few of God's people be so comfortable, what will it be to enjoy all the saints in heaven together?"'

"Towards the close of that evening he went to prayer (divers being present who admired the blessed frame of spirit he was in); admiring God in all His appearances for His poor people, he laid all his comfort in the blood of a crucified Christ, and upon the Covenant of Free Grace; he did heartily desire pardon for all his judges, jury, and those witnesses that had sworn falsely against him."

Harrison himself from the moment of his condemnation "never ceased to give thanks." When the sentence was pronounced, he said, "whom men have judged God doth not condemn, blessed be the name of the Lord." And as he was carried away

from the Court through the crowd, the people shouted. And he cried, "Good is the Lord for all this; I have no cause to be ashamed for the cause that I have been engaged in." 'Some friends asked him how he did, he answered, "Very well; and cannot be in a better condition if I had the desires of my heart; we must be willing to receive hard things from the hands of our Father, as well as easy things." When he came to Newgate there were chains put upon his feet; and he said, "Welcome, welcome, oh this is nothing to what Christ hath undergone for me: this is out of His great loving kindness and faithfulness, and my God is all sufficient in all conditions."'

'And also soon after his coming into the dungeon in order to his execution, a woman belonging to the gaol, who was sent to make clean the room and to make a fire for him, was asked when she came out by divers people (whereof some were scoffers) how the Major-General behaved himself and what he said. To which she answered, "she knew not what he had done to deserve to be there, but sure she was that he was a good man, and that never was such a man there before, for he was full of God, there was nothing but God in his mouth; so that it would have done anyone good to have been near him, or with him; and his discourse and frame of heart would melt the hardest of their hearts."'

The very fullest contemporary account still remains of the way in which he spent the last day of his life, October 12th, and of the manner in which he died on the day following within sight of the windows of the Banqueting House at Whitehall, from which Charles had stepped to the scaffold. "Sometime after he was

put into the hold, three ministers of the city were sent by the Sheriff to discourse with him. And their discourse was to endeavour to convince him, first, of being guilty of the King's blood. Second, of Mr Love's death. Third, of breaking the old Parliament. Fourth, of being loose in breaking family duties, and the observation of the Lord's Day. Fifth, of the justness of this thing that was upon him by reason of his iniquity. To which he answered. First, as to the blood of the King, I have not in the least any guilt lying upon me; for I have many a time sought the Lord with tears to know if I have done amiss in it, but was rather confirmed that the thing was more of God than of men; and besides what I did, I did by authority of Parliament, which was then the only lawful authority, for God owned it by pleading their cause, and fighting their battles for them; the Lord's people owned it by rejoicing in it and praying for it; the generality of people both in England, Scotland and Ireland owned it by yielding obedience to it; foreign princes owned it by sending their ambassadors, therefore it was rather the act of the Parliament, than ours that were their servants. He declared that he was very tender of the King, insomuch that the King himself did confess that he found him not such a person as he was represented to him (when he was brought out of the Isle of Wight), and that he had some skill in faces, so that if he had but seen his face before, he should not have harboured such hard thoughts of him. Second, as to Mr Love's death I was in Scotland when he was condemned, and had no hand in it in the least. They desired to know if he did not say then, that if a godly man so transgress as to bring

himself under the condemnation of the law, it were not a just thing for him to suffer for his sin; he told them that he did not remember that he did say so, but then said, if a godly man did so transgress a righteous law, he ought to suffer as another man. Third, the breaking of the Parliament was the act and design of General Cromwell, for I did know nothing of it; that morning before it was done, he called me to go along with him to the House, and after he had brought all into disorder, I went to the Speaker and told him, Sir, seeing things brought to this pass it is not requisite for you to stay there; he answered he would not come down unless he was pulled out; Sir, said I, I will lend you my hand, and he putting his hand into mine came down without any pulling, so that I did not pull him. Indeed, afterwards I was glad the thing was done, for I did see they did intend to perpetuate themselves without doing those desirable things which were expected and longed for by the Lord's people; and apprehending that God had done this work by them, and that He had some more worthy persons to come upon the stage; the Lord is my witness, that I had no self end in that action, but it was out of the integrity of my heart as to the Lord. Afterwards, when Cromwell and his party did set up themselves in their room, I abhorred them and their ways, and suffered imprisonment by reason I would not join with them in that iniquity and go against my conscience—there is nothing of this also that lies as guilt upon me. Fourth, concerning family duties, and the observation of the Lord's Day, there stands my servant, let him speak to it; for he hath lived with me about these

eight years. The servant answered, that those reports were very false; for his master was a man in a manner wholly devoted to religious exercises, to the great comfort and consolation of his whole family, and that he was very zealous in observing the Lord's Day. Fifth, he said that the Lord's Spirit did witness with his spirit, that all his sins were done away by Jesus Christ, that he had peace with God, and was assured that this was not come upon him for his iniquity.

"They discoursed of many other things, but these were the chiefest, so far as one then present could afterwards remember. He parted very sweetly and lovingly with the said ministers, and they told him that they came then by the desire of the Sheriff; but that they would willingly come again upon a Christian account. Many friends came to visit him whilst he was in that place, and found him full of the joy of the Lord; so that some apprehended he was clothed with the Spirit of the Lord.

"The Sheriff came that morning that he was to die, and told him that in half an hour he must be gone; he answered that he was ready, and would not have him stay at all on his account. But the Sheriff left him to stay a little longer, and in the meantime, he was longing for the Sheriff's coming, and as his friends judged he was in haste to be gone, and said, he was going about a great work for the Lord that day; and that his support was, that his sufferings were upon the account of Jehovah, the Lord of Hosts. He said he looked upon this as a clear answer of his prayers, for many a time, said he, have I begged of the Lord, that if He had any hard thing or contemptible service to be done by His people, that I should be employed in it;

and now, blessed be the name of God, who accounteth me worthy to be put upon this service for my Lord Christ; oh, this is nothing to what Christ suffered for me.

"He parted with his wife and friends with great joy and cheerfulness, as he did use to do when going some journey or about some service for the Lord. He told his wife he had nothing to leave her but his Bible; but that he was as assured that God would make up all her losses in due time, and desired that those that did love him, should manifest their love in being loving and tender to his dear wife.

"The Sheriff commanding the keeper to acquaint Mr Harrison he must go to suffer, the keeper came forth, and returned answer that he was ready when he pleased, then the Sheriff commanded the keeper to fetch him forth; so he came forth immediately, sooner than was expected; (running down the stairs with a smiling countenance) by reason of his sudden coming, the door (that he was to go up a pair of stairs at) was not opened, which occasioned his stay in the hall till the keeper could be found; and there one Mrs M. took him by the hand, and said, with a loud voice, Blessed be the great God of Hosts, that hath enabled you, and called you forth to bear your testimony; the God of all grace and peace be with you, and keep you faithful to the death, that you may receive a crown of Life. With that, one of the officers pulled the woman away by the shoulders, saying, away with this woman, she stands prating here. But the Major-General replied, be not offended with her, she speaks scripture language; so they thrust her away from him, and would not allow any to speak more to him in that

place. Then he was carried into a room where the common prisoners were, and told them what a sad thing it was to be condemned to die, and to want the love and favour of God ; but it is not so with me ; for though I die, yet I know I shall live with Christ to all eternity, and this is out of the exceeding riches of the grace of God ; for He it is that maketh the difference ; for as I am in myself a base, vile, and nothing creature, but complete in Him who is the head of all principalities and powers. Poor men, I wish you all as well as I do my own soul. Oh that you did but know Christ ; your time in this world is short and uncertain, His blood is sufficient to do away the deepest iniquity ; He waiteth to be gracious, and is willing to receive all that come unto Him : oh, therefore, labour to come to Christ ; your time in this world is short and uncertain ; you are walking upon the brink of eternity, and are ready to drop in every moment ; if you die without the fear of our God, you will be miserable for ever and ever ; but if you come to know Christ to be yours, it will be your joy and happiness, world without end. He then put his hands into his pockets, and gave them some money, and wished them to take heed of sinning against the Lord. And from thence was carried upon the leads on the top of Newgate, so that he could see the greatest part of the city ; he then said, The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, and there is nothing hid from His eyes. From thence he was carried down two pair of stairs, where he was tied about the back, breast and shoulders ; he took the rope in his hand and said, Friends, take notice that God gives me power to receive this with thanksgiving, and he helped the servant to put on the rope. Then

a friend came weeping to him to take her leave of him; he said, Hinder me not, for I am going about a work for my Master, then looking about him, said, Sirs, it is easy to follow God when He makes a hedge about us, and makes liberal provision for us; but it is hard for most to follow Him in such a dispensation as this—and yet my Lord and Master is as sweet and glorious to me now, as He was in the time of my greatest prosperity.

"He also said, This I can say for myself, that according to the light that God hath given me, I have served Him and my country with integrity and uprightness of heart, not wittingly or willingly wronging any; but this I have done with much infirmity and weakness. One telling him, that he did not know how to understand the mind of God in such a dispensation as this, he said, Wait upon the Lord, for you know not what the Lord is leading to, and what the end of the Lord will be.

"After this, addressing himself to a gentleman, he said, I dare not, nor cannot be a pleaser of men; a friend answered, it appeared so by your declining Cromwell's interest; which words he assented to, and further said; the manner of my speaking before the Court may seem strange to some; but my design was not to approve myself before men, but God, and what I said was according to my conscience.

"And as the rope was tying on, he repeated Isaac's words to Abraham; Father, here is the wood, but where is the sacrifice? and also said, if the Lord see good, He can provide another sacrifice, He can deliver those that are appointed to die; but His Will be done, death is not terrible to me; yea, it is no more

to me than a rush, I have learned to die long ago. And was often heard to say, concerning the Lord's dispensation to him and His people, Shall not the Lord do with His own what it pleaseth Him? And so parting with his friends, went downstairs to the sledge, and asked which way must I sit? for I am not acquainted with this; good is the Lord in all His ways. Then he was carried away in the sledge, having a sweet smiling countenance, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, his countenance never changing in all the way as he went to the place of execution, but was mighty cheerful to the astonishment of many. He called several times in the way, and spoke aloud: I go to suffer upon the account of the most glorious cause that ever was in the world. As he was going to suffer, one in derision called to him, and said, Where is your good old cause? He with a cheerful smile clapt his hand on his breast, and said, Here it is, and I am going to seal it with my blood. And when he came to the sight of the gallows, he was transported with joy, and his servant asked him how he did; he answered, never better in my life; his servant told him, Sir, there is a crown of glory ready prepared for you. Oh yes, he said, I see it."

This overwhelming and glorious confidence remained characteristic to the very end; and the crowd which had come to exult over his death was gradually hushed into an intense admiration for the courage and devotion of the famous general.

"When he was taken off the sledge the hangman desired him to forgive him. I do forgive thee, said he, with all my heart as it is a sin against me; and

told him he wished him all happiness. And further, said, Alas, poor man, thou dost it ignorantly; and the Lord grant that this sin may not be laid to thy charge, so parting with his servant, hugging of him in his arms, he went up the ladder with an undaunted countenance; from whence he spake to the multitude as follows.

"'Gentlemen, I did not expect to have spoken a word to you at this time; but seeing there is a silence commanded, I will speak something of the word God had in hand in our days. Many of you have been witnesses of the finger of God, that hath been seen amongst us in late years, in the deliverance of His people from their oppressors, and in bringing to judgment those that were guilty of the precious blood of the dear servants of the Lord. And how God did witness thereto by many wonderful and evident testimonies, as it were immediately from heaven, insomuch that many of our enemies, who were persons of no mean quality, were forced to confess, that God was with us, and if God did but stand neuter, they should not value us; and therefore, seeing the finger of God hath been pleading this cause I shall not need to speak much to it; in which work I with others were engaged; for the which, I do from my soul bless the name of God, who out of the exceeding riches of His grace accounted me worthy to be instrumental in so glorious a work: and though I am wrongfully charged with murder and bloodshed, yet I must tell you I have kept a good conscience both towards God and towards man; I never had malice against any man, neither did I act maliciously towards any person, but as I judged them to be

enemies to God and His people: and the Lord is my witness that I have done what I did out of the sincerity of my heart to the Lord. I bless God I have no guilt upon my conscience, but the spirit of God beareth witness that my actions are acceptable to the Lord, through Jesus Christ: though I have been compassed about with manifold infirmities, failings and imperfections in my holiest duties; but in this I have comfort and consolation, that I have peace with God, and do see all my sins washed away in the blood of my dear Saviour. And I do declare as before the Lord, that I would not be guilty wittingly nor willingly of the blood of the meanest man, no not for ten thousand worlds, much less of the blood of such as I am charged with.

"'I have again and again besought the Lord with tears to make known His will and mind unto me concerning it, and to this day he hath rather confirmed me in the justice of it, and therefore I leave it to Him, and to Him I commit my ways; but some that were eminent in the work, did wickedly turn aside themselves, and to set up their nests on high which caused great dishonour to the name of God, and the profession they had made. And the Lord knows I could have suffered more than this, rather than have fallen in with them in that iniquity, though I was offered what I would if I would have joined with them: my aim in all my proceedings was the glory of God, and the good of His people, and the welfare of the whole Commonwealth.'

"The people observing him to tremble in his hands and in his legs, he taking notice of it said:—

"'Gentlemen, by reason of some scoffing that I do

hear, I judge that some do think I am afraid to die, by the shaking I have in my hands and knees; I tell you no, but it is by reason of much blood I have lost in the wars, and many wounds I have received in my body, which caused this shaking and weakness in my nerves; I have had it this twelve years; I speak to this to the praise and glory of God; He hath carried me above fear of death; and I value not my life, because I go to my Father, and am assured I shall take it up again.

"'Gentlemen, take notice, that for being instrumental in that Cause and in interest of the Son of God, which hath been pleaded amongst us, and which God hath witnessed to my appeals and wonderful victories, I am brought to this place to-day to suffer death; and if I had ten thousand lives, I could freely and cheerfully lay them all down to witness to this matter. Oh, what am I, poor worm, that I should be accounted worthy to suffer anything for the sake of my Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. I have gone joyfully and willingly many a time, to lay down my life upon the account of Christ, but never with so much joy and freedom as at this time; I do not lay down my life by constraint, but willingly; for if I had been minded to have run away, I might have had many opportunities: but being so clear in the thing, I durst not turn my back, nor step a foot out of the way, by reason I had been engaged in the service of so glorious and great a God. However, men presume to call it by hard names; yet I believe, ere it be long, the Lord will make it known from heaven, that there was more of God in it than men are now aware of.'

"The Sheriff minding him of the shortness of

time, if he had anything to say to the people, he might.

"He said, 'I do desire as from my own soul, that they and every one may fear the Lord, that they may consider their latter end, and so it may be well with them; and even for the worst of those that have been most malicious against me, from my soul, I would forgive them all so far as anything concerns me; and so far as it concerns the cause and glory of God, I leave it for Him to plead; and as for the cause of God, I am willing to justify it by my sufferings, according to the good pleasure of His will. I have been this morning before I came hither so hurried up and down stairs (the meaning whereof I knew not) that my spirits are almost spent; therefore you may not expect much from me. Oh the greatness of the love of God to such a poor, vile and nothing creature as I am. What am I, that Jesus Christ should shed His heart's blood for me, that I might be happy to all eternity, that I might be made a son of God, and an heir of heaven? Oh that Christ should undergo so great sufferings and reproaches for me. And should not I be willing to lay down my life, and suffer reproaches for Him that hath so loved me? Blessed be the name of God that I have a life to lose upon so glorious and so honourable an account'; (then praying to himself with tears; and having ended, the hangman pulled down the cap, but he thrust it up again saying) 'I have one word more to the Lord's people, that desire to serve Him with an upright heart; let them not think hardly of any of the good ways of God for all this; for I have been near this seven years a suffering person, and have found the way of God to be a

perfect way, His word a tried word, a buckler to them that trust in Him, and will make known His glorious arm in the sight of all nations. And though we may suffer hard things, yet He hath a gracious end, and will make a good end for His own glory, and the good of His people; therefore be cheerful in the Lord God, hold fast that which you have and be not afraid of sufferings; for God will make hard and bitter things sweet and easy to all that trust in Him; keep close to the good confession you have made of Jesus Christ, and look to the recompence of reward; be not discouraged by reason of the cloud that now is upon you; for the sun will shine, and God will give a testimony unto what He hath been adoing in a short time And now I desire to commit my concernments into the hands of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, He that hath delivered Himself for the chief of sinners; He that came into the world, was made flesh and was crucified; that hath loved me, and washed me from my sins in His own blood, and is risen again, sitting at the right hand of God, making intercession for me. And as for me, oh who am I, poor, base, vile worm, that God should deal thus by me? For this will make me come the sooner into His glory, and to inherit the kingdom, and that crown prepared for me. Oh, I have served a good Lord and Master, which hath helped from my beginning to this day, and hath carried me through many difficulties, trials, straits and temptations, and hath always been a very present help in time of trouble; He hath covered my head many times in the day of battle. By God I have leaped over a wall, by God I have run through a troop, and by my God I will go through this death, and He will

make it easy to me. Now into Thy hands, oh Lord Jesus, I commit my spirit.'"

The hangman then proceeded with his ghastly duty, and severed the head and quarters of the Major-General; these were conveyed from the scaffold to be set up in conspicuous places in the city.

His execution only produced on the minds of thoughtful men the very opposite effect to what had been intended, and stirred his friends to a greater determination to continue in the faith to which he had so worthily witnessed; indeed, the claim of the Regicides to be acting under the special inspiration of the Spirit, which was distinctly made by many of them on the scaffold, seemed to assure by means of their martyrdom a great harvest of faithful followers.

Colonel Axtell says, "I desire, according to this doctrine, from the bottom of my heart, that God would give them true repentance, and lay not this sin to their charge, nor my blood, which by God's law and man's (I think) could not justly have been brought here to suffer. But I bless God I have some comfortable assurance that I shall be embraced in the arms of Christ, and have cause to hope that His Spirit shall carry my soul into the Father's hands. And if the glory of this sunshine be so great (the sun then shining bright) how much more is the glory of the Son of God, who is the Sun of Righteousness."

The Fifth Monarchy men thus remained full of confidence, and watched the opportunity to strike a blow. They talked to one another of their good hope that in the final establishment of the Fifth Monarchy, Harrison would have the privilege and glory of commanding one of the wings at that battle of

Armageddon, in which the enemies of Christ would be permanently subdued. We have seen how foolishly he had been neglected and despised in those months after the death of Cromwell, which the Republicans had squandered and squabbled over instead of uniting for the one great purpose of their lives. But now once more, friends and rivals alike realised how close had been their agreement, how futile their differences.

Mr John Carew was Harrison's most intimate friend among the leaders of the Fifth Monarchy. He had been a distinguished member of Parliament. When word was brought to him that Harrison was dead, he said, "Well, my turn will be next, and as we have gone along in our lives, so must we be one in our death. The Lord God grant that I may have strength from Himself to follow courageously to the last breath; and that I may have much honour and glorify God, whom I have made profession of; I can do nothing of myself, but my strength is in the Lord of Hosts, who hath helped me from my beginning to this day, and will help me to the end." "The night before he suffered some of his relations came to take their leave of him, and when they were parting, they shed some tears, but when he perceived it, he said, Oh, my friends, if you did know and feel what joy I have, and what a glorious crown I shall receive from the hand of Christ (for this work), you would not mourn, but rejoice that I am counted worthy to be a witness to this cause; and said further, The Lord preserve you all from the portion of this generation: for assuredly there is great wrath from the Lord that will reach them to their destruction. When Mr L. came to take his leave of him

he asked this question, how it was with him? he answered, Very well, I bless my God; as to my interest in Him I have not the least doubt, but do know assuredly, that when my soul shall be separated from this body, I shall be taken into His presence where is fulness of joy, and by Jesus Christ be presented to my Father, without spot and blame in His own complete and perfect righteousness, which is free, and not for any of my own works; for I am a poor, sinful and wretched creature, and compassed about with many infirmities. And when it was asked him if he had anything of conviction upon him as to what he was to suffer for? he answered, No, not in the least, for, said he, though men have condemned, yet the Lord hath and doth justify."

The other Fifth Monarchy leaders died with the same confidence, and in the same expectation; and as they perished so courageously day by day, the people of London grew more and more weary of the bloody work. Some weeks later there was a rising in London of a small party of enthusiasts, headed by Venner, and the difficulty of suppressing this trifling revolt showed to men how momentous might have been the consequences if Harrison had lived to head such a rebellion against the Restoration.

Chapter XV

Conclusion

In periods of hot party strife, and of fierce personal conflict, it is always puzzling to disentangle the true features and most important characteristics of any particular personage among the leading men; and this difficulty specially meets us in the case of Harrison; for while no one was more trusted by his own intimate associates, no one was more detested by those with whom at one time or another he came into conflict; and unfortunately there are extant no sufficient remains out of which it is possible to construct such a clear picture of his relations with his family as might have enabled us to correct the harsher features of the political and military leader.

The touching parting recorded at his death is indeed still in our hands, to exhibit his affection for his wife Catherine: and three entries in the burial registers of St Anne's, Blackfriars, tell us of the death of three sons in the years 1649, 1652 and 1653 respectively. The eldest of these was buried on February 1st, 1649, and must therefore have died in the very midst of the arrangements for the execution of the King. But there is nothing to show us whether it was a bitter loss to the general. The last of the three died just at the beginning of the final struggle with the Long Parliament, and at about the same date the records

of the Courts of Newcastle-under-Lyme inform us of the death of his father, and of his own claim for the succession to his father's property. But we cannot even tell whether he left any descendants behind him; if he did, it must have been by a previous marriage to that of 1647 with Catherine Harrison; at all events, no children appear in the story of his farewell to his relations. Then his only relation present was his wife to whom he left his Bible, the sole piece of property which his condemnation had spared to him.

In the paucity of materials, we should indeed feel grateful if our estimate of his character could be enlarged by one or two scenes of family life, of which we have so many in the story of Oliver Cromwell, and which have helped historians to give a true picture of the great general, and to dispel the mist of so-called hypocrisy which surrounded him.

Happily we can fill in the outlines of Harrison's character, as depicted by his public career, with the softening shadows supplied by some glimpses of the story of his long imprisonment, which he endured with such splendid reliance upon God's power and mercy.

Major-General Harrison is described to us incidentally in the account of his own sufferings which has been left behind by the famous Fifth Monarchy preacher, Mr John Rogers. Genial and frank the general had been in the days of his military success and political power. A genial and frank-hearted man full of high ideals, he never allowed these ideals to draw him away from a tender helpfulness to his friends, and gradually trained his once passionate and fiercely determined will by the beautiful addition of an

extraordinary patience. This patience it was which became little by little the most conspicuous of his many noble qualities.

Mr John Rogers relates to us a scene in the Court Yard of Whitehall on February 5th, 1655, when Harrison was present among a number of his humbler brethren, and when the guards fell upon the unresisting general and a company of his fellow members of the Fifth Monarchy party, and drove them with blows and with most unseemly scuffling back from the Palace Yard. And on later pages Mr Rogers recounts how Harrison's kindly presence cheered him and his suffering family when they arrived to share his imprisonment in Carisbrooke Castle. There in the old Castle, with its memories of Charles the First, the major-general and his friends, ministers and laymen alike, spent many a week of privation and insult, comforted by spiritual study. So delightful does this intercourse become, so thoroughly does the major-general recognise the essential brotherhood of himself and his friends, that when a messenger arrives from the Protector in London to bring Harrison to the deathbed of his father-in-law, he long refuses to be parted from his fellow prisoners, until at last they persuade him that it is his duty to go; and we see him riding down the hill to Newport, with his eyes constantly turned back towards the grim walls of his prison, where he can still distinguish the forms of his dearly loved friends.

But patience and humility and tender consideration for friends are not the gifts which make a man successful in the dangerous struggles of revolutionary times; and we must go on to enquire how it was that Harrison obtained such an influence among the rank

and file and the junior officers of the New Model Army, since there is good authority for considering him to have possessed at one time even greater power in the army than Oliver Cromwell himself. And for this side of his character we have a few excellent descriptions of his dealings with his rivals and his compeers in the affections of the soldiers.

Four qualities stand out conspicuously as securing him popularity with the ordinary soldier: his unfailing courage; his love of picturesque display; his frankness; and his geniality of manner.

An almost reckless courage is specially attractive to the military mind: Harrison was ready at any time to lead the forlorn hope; he gained great distinction at Marston Moor, and in the critical fight at Appleby Bridge his personal daring saved the army, and his numerous wounds, though they did not prove fatal, left him a weaker man for life, and afflicted him with an incurable nervousness.

In specially dangerous matters he was often the man called upon to take the lead; he it was that decided on that policy hostile to the majority in the Commons which ended in the expulsion of the Presbyterian members by Colonel Pride and his soldiers; he it was who brought the King to London for trial; and he it was who turned the Speaker out of his place at the overthrow of the Long Parliament.

Such daring courage as this is not often found in combination with the love of military display which naturally gladdens the heart of the ordinary soldier, but in Harrison the two were combined. He never adopted anything of the Puritan severity of costume, and his uniform was so brilliant that it caught the eye

of the King riding on his way from Winchester to his trial, as a turn of the road confronted him with the dreaded Harrison at the head of his Troop. The same love of display showed itself in the choice of a magnificent uniform in order to make himself the prominent figure of the Executive Government at the Reception of the Spanish Ambassador in 1651.

Of Harrison's frankness in speaking and readiness to face the possible failure of his purposes as well as the probability of their success, there is a striking instance in his famous interview with Lillburne and Lillburne's friends at the Inn in Windsor on the evening of November 28th, 1648. On that occasion the characteristic which stands out most conspicuously among the number of valuable gifts by which he gained his own way was precisely this quality of frankness. Nothing could be more frank than the manner in which he admitted that the earnest lovers of liberty had not been altogether well treated, nor quite honestly dealt with by the leaders of the army. Nor again did his frankness fail when he admitted that the moment was full of peril for the very lives of the chief leaders of the army, threatened with a universal rising of the Presbyterians. He acknowledged that there would be the gravest danger if Lillburne and his party should bring all their influence to bear upon the soldiers, and then ally themselves with the Presbyterians.

And again, with the fullest frankness he confessed that there was no possibility of safely deferring the great stroke which was to put the Parliament under the feet of the army. That frankness, Lillburne

admitted, so charmed him, that he readily gave way and ranged himself on the side of Harrison.

Of Harrison's genial manners we have the evidence of Charles himself, who was astonished at his pleasant mode of conversation. Frank, genial, and bright, Harrison's presence was welcome to men of all classes and all opinions. He was an excellent speaker with a copious flow of words, and the power of fixing the attention of his hearers on the real point at issue. But he never indulged in any of those long-winded speeches which were so prevalent among the Puritans, and whose never-ending length was so objectionable to men of action. It is no wonder that Baxter complains because he would not argue, and preferred to win success in his discourse by an appeal to high ideals.

But even these qualities, attractive though they were, would not account for the extraordinary influence over Oliver Cromwell which Harrison's career exhibits. Among the great fighters he was the man who had the most definite purpose in his fighting. He never seems to have lost sight of one grand and inspiring hope, which, vague at first, gradually took more and more definite shape in what we call the Fifth Monarchy. For this he felt he had warrant in the Word of God. Nobody else, except possibly Vane, had the same definiteness of purpose; and men acknowledged that there was about Harrison a certain devotion to the great cause in which he never wavered. Here lay the secret of his greatness. He was determined to set up, if his strength allowed him, the full glories of the Fifth Monarchy. He hoped to see the Saints the masters of the world, and all with one spirit, consciously and confidently

acting under the control of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself.

The practical nature of Oliver Cromwell was satisfied when he could see one step in front of him in the path of political progress. He clung tenaciously to the old laws and customs of England, and when Harrison lost his influence over him the final efforts of his Protectorate were directed to making the new laws and customs as much as possible like the old, with the alteration of the dynasty from the House of Stuart to the House of Cromwell. This was far indeed from the ideals of Harrison ; and for long these ideals exercised the predominant influence over Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell would have saved the King, but the King stood in the path of the visions of Harrison. Cromwell would have made very large concessions in order to establish a *modus vivendi* with the Long Parliament, but the characters of its members rendered them impossible as supporters of the Fifth Monarchy. Harrison pushed the General onwards till the final measures of the Little Parliament made it evident that the old England must be totally abolished if his hopes were to be crowned with success. Then Cromwell tried to go back to the path of legality, but by that time he had used force to such an extent that it was impossible to return to a constitutional England.

While Harrison claims our high sympathies for the efforts he had made to carry out his glorious visions of Righteousness and Peace, he must bear the blame of having been the man above all others whose policy indirectly caused the anarchy of 1659 and 1660, and thus precipitated a blind Restoration which

fell under the guidance of the Reactionaries. It was not Cromwell's fault that the plans of Harrison failed ; he did not surrender them till he found himself with the support of only a few enthusiasts, and confronted with all the forces new and old which had grown up in England. And because the opposition was so strong, and probably because his plans were not in harmony with the conditions and opinions of the time, Harrison did not add to the happiness of his fellow Englishmen. He had expected too much of the nation ; ordinary human nature could not bear the strain of a self devotion such as his ; and therefore when the time of trial came, most of his followers fell away from him, and could not face the dangers and afflictions which he so gallantly encountered.

One accusation against the general must not be passed over ; he was accused of building up a private fortune out of the disasters of the Royalists. The truth of this cannot altogether be denied : he received large sums from the Long Parliament, and rejoiced in the riches which enabled him to carry out his love of display ; but all this love of display vanished in the trials and persecutions of his later life, till at last he grew to be serenely confident that sorrow and trouble were his only inheritance.

Far from attempting to conciliate his adversaries by a pusillanimous submission, he stoutly maintained that his course of action had been in harmony with the Divine directions, and met death as a well-known guest.

Appendix

THE following is a complete list of the extant letters of Genera Harrison.

The first letters, Nos. 1-11, are taken from Professor Firth's "Life of Thomas Harrison." The remainder, Nos. 12-19, are taken from the transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, 1861.

For this list I am indebted to Professor C. H. Firth, for whose unvarying courtesy I cannot be too grateful.

I have also to express my obligations to the Secretary of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society.

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First Letter

Harrison and three other Officers to Colonel Hammond. Nov. 17th, 1648. See page 75.

Second Letter

Harrison to Cromwell. July 3rd, 1650. See page 107.

[The Letters following, 3-11, have to do with the campaign which ended in the Battle of Worcester.]

Third Letter

Harrison to Cromwell. Leith [Aug. 2, 1651], 2 d. 5 m. 1651.

Maie it please your Excellencie, — The severall intelligencies wee have received of the motions of the enemy since your Excellencie marched from Bountishend (Burntisland?), wee have as they came to our hands dispatched them to your's. But being out of reach to understand your judgement thereof, and your timely pleasure, how the forces left on this side should be improved, wee have been put to some difficulty in our thoughts thereon, especially considering the reports wee have received from private hands, and some parties wee have sent forth, are so various, that wee cannot say, whether the enemy be marched southward with his whole army, or a part, or whether those that be fallen that way, intend for England, or but to quicken their levies in the west, and for refreshment. However, wee concluded upon the whole, that Major-General Harrison should repayre to the borders with the Horse hee brought up with him (whether Major Heines and Major Husbands, upon intelligence of some parties of the enemy that were come into Tinedale to raise the country, were before sent with five or six hundred horse, and directions since, in case that the enemies whole army was marched that way, to fall down towards Berwick for security); where also hee might unite those under Col. Rich and Col. Sanders, with those hee brings back, and thence (if it appeare the enemy makes for England with their whole army) apply to Sir Arthur Heslerigg and my Lord Fairfax, to improve their interests for the getting together the well affected

of the northerne counties, that so the enemy might receive a considerable opposition, without withdrawing much of the forces (if your Excellencie should so think fitt) now marching immediately with you, from prosecuting the mercies of the Lord on Fife side. And wee have thought also, in a letter wee are dispatchiing to the Council of State, to give them an account of our intelligence and judgements thereupon, to bee represented (if themselves should first find waight in the thing) to the Parliament for their letters into the northerne counties to this purpose; Herein venturing (as wee confesse wee do) our reputations, rather than to bee found in the issue to have neglected any lawfull means, to prevent the disturbance and various miseries might be renewed on England, in case the enemy should march that way with their whole army, while your Excellencie is so much in the reare, and no considerable force in their vanne, to give them checke. Wee also humbly thought if at last it should appeare to bee the enemies designe still to keep in trenches and fastnesses, near Stirling, then a body so got together in the north of England for a month or two might march up on this side (your Excellencie so thinking fitt) and bee assistant to force the enemy to engage or famish. But wee humbly lay ourselves with these thoughts upon this emergency at your Excellencie's feet; and shall wait the signification of your farther pleasure concerninge us.—Remayning, my Lord, your Excellencie's humble and faithful servants,

T. Harrtson.
G. Fenwick.
Ph. Twisleton.

P.S.—We have just now intercepted a foot-post with private letters, which confirms us that the whole army (except some horse with Montgomery in the North) are marching for England. The foot-post, who is a subtile old knave, saith, that the King, D. Buckingham, Middleton, and the rest of the armie, did march yesterday morninge from near Fawkirk, and spoke of going for England. He was very hardly drawn to confess anything. And one letter from an Englishman to his wife, saith, that he was going to their Father.

For his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell. These.

The Governor of Burnt-Island is desired to get this letter sent with all possible speed.

Fourth Letter

To the Parliament's Commissioners for the County of York. Newcastle, 6th day of the sixth month [6th August 1651].

Gentlemen,—The Lord having so ordered it, that our army are masters of Fife, by which the enemy gives up their expectations of Scotland for lost, they are necessitated for want of provisions, as to their last refuge, to run for England, taking the opportunity of our armies being on the other side the great river. And though there be a mighty spirit of terror from God upon them, so that they are ready to fly when none follows them; yet their large promises to their soldiers, of plunder in England, bear up the spirits of divers to make another adventure for it, forgetting the large testimony the Lord formerly gave against them. It now remains that you and every good man give all diligence to improve your interests, and all possible means God may put into your hands, to give a check to this vile generation untill our Army come up, who will follow hard after them, that the goods of the land may not be devoured by such Caterpillars.

I have withall about 3000 horse, which I shall endeavour to dispose of, as God in His Love and Wisdom shall please to instruct me, and wherewith I hope to give the enemy some trouble, if some Foot could be speedily raised to break down bridges or stop some Passages upon them. However, considering the battle is the Lord's, and not ours, and it is alike to Him to save by few, or many, I hope we may be useful in this juncture, though we be few mean, and none more unworthy. The Lord quicken you, me, and all that profess to fear Him, to give all diligence in our Stations to quit ourselves as the friends of Christ, against the men that will not have Him to reign, though God hath sworn He will set His Son upon His Holy hill, and they that oppose Him shall be broken in pieces as a Potter's Vessel. The enemy's hope is, that Englishmen will be so mad as to join with them (seeing they have lost their credit with their own countrymen) which we hope God will prevent in a good measure by your hands, and also lift up a standard against them; wherein not doubting your best assistance, and, much more, the loving kindness of God.—I remain, yours,

T. Harrison.

P.S.—It will be very necessary that before the approach of the enemy, all kind of Horses, Cattle and Provision, be driven out of the way, for the better prevention of them to their owners, and Disappointment of the Enemy. They mount their Foot upon all the horses they can get, wherefore it will be necessary the Foot you raise should be also mounted to answer them, they being a flying party. I desire to hear from you with all convenient speed, being upon my march towards Richmond, and so to lye upon the Skirts of Yorkshire if possible to get before the enemy if they should intend by the way of Cheshire.

Fifth Letter

Major-General Harrison's Letter to the Lord President of the Council of State. Newcastle, 7th of the sixth month, 1651, at eleven o'clock forenoon [Aug. 7, 1651].

My Lord,—Having lately given your Lordship an account, from Berwick, of the severall intelligences we had concerning the King of Scots intendment for England, I forbore to give you any further trouble therein, till, coming nearer, I might receive a more certain understanding of them. On the fifth instant I reached this place, where receiving, from divers hands, expresses of their being near the Borders, I staid all yesterday to get up the Troops with Col. Rich and Col. Barton, from about Hexham, and ten Troops following from Scotland. I judged it also my duty, and accordingly dispatched letters, whereof I have enclosed a copy, to the Commissioners of Parliament in the several counties of Lancaster, York, Chester, Stafford, Salop, Nottingham, Derby, and the six counties of North Wales, to give them timely notice hereof; that if it might be some Foot may be suddenly got together in the van of the enemy to assist the Horse, and to check them till our army might overtake them. The last night I received letters from the Governor of Carlisle, signifying that yesterday the enemy's army got upon English ground, and seemed to intend for Lancashire. I shall not mention particulars, but have enclosed the two Letters, whereto I refer you. I have withall about 3000 Horse, whereof but four Troops are Dragoons. The Foot being mounted, I hope to put some trouble upon the enemy in their march.

Just now I received an Express from his Excellency, signifying, that having taken St Johnstoun, left a party of the army to make good Fife, and possess the Town of Stirling, which the enemy hath quitted, he hath dispatched Major-General Lambert, with about three or four thousand Horse, to pursue the Enemy in the rear, who is already far on his march from Leith, and his Excellency follows with the Foot and Train, with all possible expedition. So that the Lord hath now tempted out the Enemy from his trenches, fastnesses, and advantages ; and we doubt not but He will very speedily discomfit them, and cut this work short in Righteousness.

I shall humbly offer it to you, if, in this juncture, I might get together four or five hundred godly men well mounted, that you would be pleased to make some provision for them, for a month or two. And surely this is a time wherein God doth, and I rest confident you will, own all such. Being in very great haste I commend you to the Lord, and remain, your humble and faithful servant,

T. Harrison.

Sixth Letter

Major-General Harrison to the Speaker. Ripon, 11th day of the 6th month, 1651, about noone [Aug. 11, 1651].

Sir,—I shall spare giving any large account of our affairs, having lately given the Council that trouble ; whereof I believe you will not be ignorant, or of so much as is worthy the Parliament's knowledge.

This morning I received an express from Major-General Lambert, dated the ninth, about twelve at noon, within ten miles of Penrith, and several letters inclosed, which he had taken, and therewith six of the Enemy convoying them, whereof two were Lairds. He desired my dispatch of these letters to my Lord General Cromwell, which accordingly I have done. But considering that they came from the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Lauderdale, and Lord Wentworth ; and that the esteem they have of the Presbyterian Party (whom Hamilton calls Rogues, and Lauderdale thinks they are very well rid of) and the pleasure they take in their present pure Cavalierish Composition, may help to satisfy those displeased friends, I thought it my duty to transmit you copies of them, till his Excellency can send the Originals, I being so much nearer than he is.

I am confident the Duke speaks their very heart, not knowing the danger of the Consequence as the other did, who writ accordingly ; and we expect, day by day, the Lord will more open their eyes, to see the snare whereunto Himself in judgement hath led them ; so that the terrors of the Lord will prove a sorer enemy to them than we.

My Lord Howard's son commanded a troop at Carlisle, whom ere this I had secured, but that he is his son. He took off with him but twelve of his troop (as the Major-General and the Governor of Carlisle inform me), which would have been cashiered, had we had opportunity, and they staid. The riddance of such are no loss to us, nor their accession strength to them.

The Major-General will be this night, I hope, in their rear, and I am hastening to get the van, and if possible, to recover the middle parts of Lancashire before ; for which purpose, the Lord pleasing, I design this night to be at Skipton, and so towards Preston or Manchester, as providence shall direct.

If the enemy keep constant motion he might be near Preston this night, as he lay at Kendal on Saturday, which is but about thirty-five miles distant, and so may put us a little to it to reach him. I know the Major-General will not let their rear go off quietly, whereby he may easily clog their march.

My Lord-General is in Northumberland, and Sir Arthur Hazelrigg writes me he will be at Hexham on Tuesday ; I believe sooner, knowing he will make haste.

The Lord prepare all our hearts for the great mercy He will shortly show us (whereof through his Grace, we do not in the least doubt), and help us to cry to Him for strength against His and our inward enemies, whilst He strengthens us against His and our outward enemies. Pardon my rudeness ; I am upon my march, and in some haste subscribe myself, your most humble servant,

T. HARRISON.

SEVENTH LETTER

HARRISON TO CROMWELL. Bolton in Lancashire, 15th day of the 6th month, 1651, near two in the morning [Aug. 15, 1651].

MY LORD,—I received yours of the 11th inst. by Mr Paine, and one before by your other messenger ; I must crave your pardon that I have not written to you since. I was at Ripon, expecting a

conjunction with Major-General Lambert, and I forbore these two days, till I might have something considerable to signify. Yesterday we joined on Hasle-Moor, and are now about 6000 Horse in the van of the enemy. The enemy made some halt on Elhill Moor, four miles on this side Lancaster, whereby we were somewhat amazed, thinking they might be on Councils for a timely retreat to their own country; but this day, about noon, we received understanding of their advance for Preston, and soon after of their march through a Town on this side; in design, probably, to get before us to the Pass at Warrington, where we have about three thousand Foot (waiting conjunction with us) from Cheshire and Staffordshire. Thereupon we marched to this Place, and to-morrow morning, by daylight, shall be setting forth for Warrington, the Lord willing, whereabouts the country being more open and champainous, after the accession of these Foot, we trust we shall be used by our God, to bring it to a speedy and glorious issue.

Their King, we hear, is discontented and cast down, that his subjects, as he still calls them, come in no faster to him; his expectations being great therein, though answered inconsiderably either as to persons or numbers, many more of their old soldiers running away from them daily than we can understand of any access to them. There is a rumour of their intendment for the landing of some troops in North Wales from the Isle of Man; but of that no certainty; though it may be a further argument to you that the Isle of Man should be well guarded.

Cheshire hath been very forward in their levies upon this emergency, most of the Foot above mentioned being from thence. Six Hundred of Col. Jennings's Horse are come to Manchester, whom I have sent to, that they may meet us at Warrington.

There are several things I should have touched to your Lordship, but I hope you will receive a further account from Warrington, in the evening. I commend your weighty affairs to the Grace of an approved good Lord, in whom we rest absolutely assured of a wonderful and glorious issue of the work in hand.—Remaining, my Lord, your most faithful servant to my power,

T. Harrison.

Eighth Letter

To the Lord President. At the Camp near Warrington Bridge, the 16th day of the 6th month, about eleven in the morning [Aug. 16, 1651].

My Lord,—Having joined with Major-General Lambert, about twelve at noon on the 13th inst. on Hasle Moor within seven miles of Preston; the enemy, according to our best intelligence, lying then on Elhill Moor, four miles on this side Lancaster, and that evening marched to Haworth Moor, within eight miles of Preston, and yesterday through Preston towards Wigan; designing as we conceive, to get up to Warrington Bridge before us; and yesterday receiving a sudden account of their marching through the Town, we crossed the country, and about one of the clock this morning reached Bolton; and after some short stay for refreshing our men, we marched away for Warrington, where we are now, in conjunction with about 4000 Foot and Dragoons, raised in Cheshire and Staffordshire.

We are improving the little time we have got before them here, to the spoiling the fords and Passes on the River, especially between us and Manchester; leaving those only open to them where, if they attempt a passage, we may be most considerable to make opposition; and, if the Lord will, engage them. Wherein we wait His pleasure and Providence concerniug us, not questioning, but if we be clearly called to give them Battle, or if they seek us out and force us to it (as in reason it seems to be much their interest) before my Lord General comes up with the Foot and Train, which is by this time about Barnard Castle, we shall find our hearts filled with a heavenly Power from the Lord, and see His antient arm lifted up, as in former times, against His enemies.—I am, your most humble servant, T. Harrison.

P.S.—We expect this day they will attempt to force their passage at some of the narrowest Passes, where they apprehend our resistance least considerable. We are appointing a Council to consider whether we should not withdraw, though there be a Spirit given generally to press to engage them, if the Lord should vouchsafe an open field for it.

Ninth Letter

To the Speaker. Upon the march from Knotsford towards Congleton. Aug. 17th, 1651. About nine of the clock.

Sir,—Yesterday, the 16th, the enemy came on with their whole army, and pressed to pass at the Bridge, and Fort near it, which we had broken down and spoiled as well as we could in so short a time. A company of our Foot were drawn down to the Barricade of the Bridge, who behaved themselves gallantly, and gave the enemy opposition till we saw cause to draw them off, securing their retreat by parties of Horse; which we did, because we were unwilling to engage the whole army, where our Horse could not come to make service, through the enclosures; the enemy thereupon hastened over their whole army, and their King in the Van, if not Forlorn, which was his own Life Guard, as some prisoners told us since; and pressed hard upon our rear, whereof Col. Rich had the guard, who wheeled off Parties, and charged them thrice as they came on, and the Lord every time caused those of the enemy, that were so forward, to fly before us.

We killed the Officer that commanded one of their Parties, and two or three troopers; and some countrymen since bring us in word, that 28 of theirs were slain in the several skirmishes, and but four of ours that I can hear of, there, and at the bridge.

As they fell on, they cried, Oh you Rogues, we will be with you before your Cromwell comes; which made us think they would press to engage us with all speed.

We are drawing up at Knotsford Moor to wait them, though we hear since that they marched a good part of the night on the London Road.—Your faithful servant, Tho. Harrison.

Tenth Letter

To the Same. Leeke, Aug. 18th, 1651.

Sir,—This night we quartered with our forces at Leeke, in Staffordshire, intending for Cheadle, towards Bagot's Bromley to-morrow. The Enemy seems to be much discouraged by the seasonable preparation of Forces the Parliament is making thereabouts; by the Country's forbearing to come into them as they expected; and, lastly, by the inconsiderableness of the Earl of Derby's forces; who, after all that noise, can make but 250 Foot

and 60 unarmed Horse, as our best intelligence saith, with whom he landed on Saturday last, at Wier-Water, in Lancashire, hasting to his King, if not interrupted in the way, which we hope he will be. Their Army, we heard this morning, lay last night about Northwich, and this evening advanced between Nantwich and Chester; their Councils seem very unsteady.

Eleventh Letter

To the Same. Preston, 7th day of the seventh month [1651] [Sept. 7th, 1651].

Sir,—I make no question but you have had a large account, from my Lord General, of the mercy at Worcester, which was very eminent and as a crown to all the Lord vouchsafed us formerly. The Battle being turned by our God, it pleased his Excellency to appoint me the pursuit; and having a little breathing time, I judge it my duty to give you the best account I can of the Lord's goodness to us therein, which I have duly dispatched to his Excellency by Letter, of some Officer, as I could for time.

And I conceive he hath transmitted to you all, that is yet to come to him considerable; and therefore, I shall not trouble you much with the passages of the evening and night of the third inst. and the day following, wherein were taken and slain in the pursuit (and so dispersed that the country might bring them in) at least 2000 Horse and Foot, according to our best guess; and amongst them the Earls of Derby, Cleveland, Lauderdale, and other considerable officers.

On the fifth day of the month we had intelligence that the enemy divided and took three ways, and accordingly I divided the Forces with me. Appointing Col. Sanders, with his Regiment, to the pursuit of those that might take through Derbyshire and Yorkshire; Col. Blundell, and Col. Barton, with 800 Horse, and four or five troop of Dragoons, to Manchester ward; and fourteen troop of Horse to Warrington, and so onward on that hand, with whom I kept; giving the Cols. directions (and taking the same course also myself) to keep out commanded parties of the ablest Horse close after the enemy, while our troops follow as they can.

A party of the enemy, of about 500, passed over into Lancashire, at Hollin Ferry near Warrington (the Bridge being kept against them) of whom we had the pursuit yesterday; and between that and Lancaster, took about 300 Horse, and amongst them the

Viscount Kenmuir and his Brother, and Col. Hume, with many considerable officers.

Those that escaped of this party were so scattered, that the Country people will bring them in; I have so sent to the Commissioners that the country people might get together in their several divisions and hundreds, with what arms they had for that purpose.

Just now I am informed of 100 more taken near Bolton yesterday, and 60 rendered themselves prisoners to Capt. Carter and Capt. Ellatson of my Lord General's Regiment of Foot.

The greatest body that is left of the enemy, being about 1000, I find is turned off some way towards Yorkshire; but I hope some of the afore-mentioned parties will light on them, the Work being, through the Lord's goodness to us, so well over this way. I am crossing the country to Skipton, to fall in with them also, to do further upon the remainder of the enemy, as the Lord shall give strength to our Forces, and minister opportunity.

The commanded party that pursued on this road (drawn out of Col. Riche's, Col. Lillburne's, Col. Barton's and my own Regiment) having most of them reached Lancaster the last night, I hasten what may be towards Appulby, that they may join with what fresh Horse the Governor of Carlisle can raise, and attend what Providence may offer; not knowing (though none of the enemy be on this road in their van) but that some may dribble down that way; giving them also directions to get up to Hexham, with what speed may be, where, possibly, they may get the van of the enemy, and be very useful to encourage the country to rise before them.

They are, undoubtedly, at a great loss, and we have great reason to hope few or none of them will escape out of England; and, if any do, I hope our friends in Scotland (having had timely notice of this mercy) will be in a good readiness to receive them.

The Lord grant that the parliament (whom He hath thus further honoured, and owned in the eyes of all the world) may improve this mercy, intrusted to their management, according to the Will of God, in establishfng the Ways of Righteousness and Justice; yet more relieving of the oppressed, and opening a wide door to the publishing of the Everlasting Gospel of our only Lord and Saviour, who is worthy to be loved, honoured, exalted, and admired by all His people; and it will be so, through the Spirit

that He will give them, and all His enemies shall be made His footstool. I commend you to His free grace, which is exceeding abundant towards His poor people. — Remaining, your most humble servant, T. HARRISON.

TWELFTH LETTER

[Col. Jones, to whom the following letters, 12-19, were written, was at this time holding a high command at Dublin.]

MAJOR-GENERAL HARRISON TO COL. JONES. 8th daie 1st m. '52 [March 8th, 1652].

MUCH ENDEARED BROTHER,—I have been prevented three or foure poasts in writing my kind acknowledgement to you of your last loving and very Spiritual letter; I am soe assured of your endeared respects and readiness to cover my failings, that I shall omit to saie anie thing for my excuse, onely, that I thinke I have beene more troubled at the delaie than you. Notwithstanding some (ignorant of you) have enquired after your stedfastness, because Mr Erberry vouched you in a booke wee lately putte forth, yett I thanke the Lorde I had not an undervaluing thought, but was able to plead your innocence. As for the poore requests I have formerly made to you, where of your last mentions, I kindly thanke youre remembrance of them, though as yet the Lorde hath not yet cleared your waie to answere them, in His time I hope for both. Our last letters give us to believe, that not onely the Dutch but France, Denmarke, and Spain will engage speedily against us; doe not these things import the Lord of Hosts about His threshing-worke? Yett wee are labouring after a peace with the Dutch notwithstanding a crosse-providence. Whether is most the Saints worke, to run after Christ to Sea whereon He hath begun to sett His right foote, or to men fearing the Lord to bee putt into all places of power at home. I earnestly beseech you in your addresses to the Almightie and our own Father, remember your Fellow Member. T. H.

THIRTEENTH LETTER.

MAJOR-GENERAL THOMAS HARRISON TO COL. JOHN JONES.

DEARE BROTHER,—I thank you for your last, so full of sweetness and light, though complaining of ignorance. I shall now trouble you with little, save the desire of many bretheren (sent as messengers from divers Churches), whereof I have formerly made

mention, that yourselfe would come to Towne with all convenient speed, and (if itt may bee) by the appointment of your congregation, and one or two with you, to consult with the bretheren here of the propagating of our Lord's Gospel and Kingdome, and love among all Saints, because some here laie weight upon your sending. Though here bee a very great ebb to carnall sense, yett manie pretious ones think itts a time of much mercie; and that our Blessed Lord will shortly worke with eminence. I have much, very much to acquaint you with, but purposely forbeare in expectation to enjoy you the next week. Thowe methingks, we have scarce lived a time more requiring concurrence of the Lord's people, nor yeelding greater encouragement to laie heads and heartes and more than all together for him that hath so sweetly loved and dearly bought us; wherefore I beseech you laie this to heart, hasten to us in the fear of the Lord, and thinke there maie bee somewhat extraordinary, that you, Powell, Jenkin, Jones, and Craddock, with some Bretheren with you (however yourselfs ye messengers from the Churches) are soe,
this juncture. The Lord guide you herein and all things.—
Yours, yours, T. H.

Whitehall, 7th of the 9th m. '52 [Nov. 7, 1652].

Fourteenth Letter

Major-General Thomas Harrison to Col. John Jones.
9th daie 9th m. 1652 [Nov. 9, 1652].

Pretious Brother,—Yours of very much price came wellcomely to my hands the last weeke, for which I retorne you very manie thanks. I have little more presently to saie to you, because I am at a Committee where I want opportunity. Mr Frake told me last night, that next weeke he will give you a retorne, and then Ile speake a little larger if the Lord will. Richard Creed having now compared my bookes and receipts, also an accompte from the Governor of Carlisle, I understand I am your debtor (though 10,000 times more than heele express to you) for your troope, which I will thither transmitt to yourselfe, or paie here if youle but hint to him. Let me have a word from you upon reseipt hereof and how it fares with you and your familie because one hinted yourself or some of you were not very well.—I am, your much endeared Brother and servant in the Lord, T. H.

Fifteenth Letter

Major-General Harrison to Col. John Jones. 27 d. 9th m. '52 [Nov. 27, 1652].

Deare Sir,—I praie your pardon for my last, which was in much love, and soe exceeding hast (att a Committee of Parliament where good Mr Brooke was desired to be outed because he would not baptize, bury dead, and accept wicked persons to break bread) that I could scarce tell what I wrote, and had not time to conclude itt.

I have now enclosed Mr Frake's to you, which should have come sooner, but hee told mee hee had been disappointed. I hope the Lord wil make your communion and intercourse usefull, and that prove I shall have cause to bless Him, in being a hande between you. I entreated his unsealed, for the favor and helpe of perusing.

Wee are in daily expectation of engagement with the Dutch, Blake yesterday certefying us that some of his men had discovered 80 saile a making up towards him. That in the evening from a steeple which hath advantage for itt, was discerned 300 vessels. They are but merchantmen in generall, and the rest are their convoy, but hope the Lord will cause them to enforce us, or ours enforce them to fight. Manie of the Lord's dear servants long for engagement, care not for the inequalitie to (numbers), knowing the cause engaged, and who is for us. A sweet spiritt of praier begins to issue forth, and some hope will never againe decline. If you are not free to see London this winter without a very special call, where I think you might bee very serviceable, yet put yourself into some readiness for itt. Itts probable your troop maie bee called hither to doe dutie for 3 or 4 months, and then I hope you maie see an opportunity of coming with them. My endeared respects to all yours and Christ's.—Whose I desire to remain approvedly, T. H.

Sixteenth Letter

Major-General Harrison to Col. Jones.

Deare Bro.—According to what I hinted (as I remember) in my last, after wee had spent yesterday 4 or 5 howers in prayer (wherein indeed we found a sweet presence of the Lord) ye Elders

came together, having many of them (as i have good reason to judge) their harts full of propositions according to God, wherein the Churches might be serviceable to the fullest Propagation of ye Gospell, but ye consideration thereof was putt off till one day more might bee spent in solume seeking unto God for the pouringe forth of His Spirit, whereby wee maie certainly know our duty and bee fully enabled to it.

And by common consent the 5th day of ye next weeke, at Allhallowes, ye Churches of Saints are to attend upon the Lord of Ye Harvest in this great thing, and truely I hope wee shall come as one man with hearts engaged to approach unto Him. And this I write not onely that you may have fare understanding of our affairs, but chiefly that you may get together on ye same day the people of God in your quarters to join with in putting up this great request. There are thoughts of having up my whole regiment and consequently your troop up to the guards here. Itt may bee you will see a clear call to come with them, and give the Churches here a visitt. Wee hope if you come it will bee in the fullnesses of the Gospel, upon which accompt you cannot but be welcome to the spiritual Saints and to mee (tho unworthy to bee reckoned amongst them) you will bee upon all accompts most deerly welcome, who am your brother in our deere Lord, T. H.

9 m. 30 d. 1652 [Nov. 30, 1652].

Seventeenth Letter

[This Letter was written just after the Dissolution of the Long Parliament.]

Major-General Harrison to Col. Jones.

Deare Brother,—Though in few words, I must thank you for your last, as manie former lines I have received full of gravitie and grace. I was bold to read it in open Councell, and the Generall came to mee to know from whom it came; it was strengthening to divers. Being resolved to have in power, men of truith, fearing and loving our Lord, His people and interest; the difficultie is to get such: whether my Lord onelie shall call them, or the Saints should choose them; very much sweetly said both ways.

What are your thoughts still of the Dutch? Some very deare to the Lord, inclining much to our seeking after peace from Heb.

12. 14, Rom. 12. 18, James 3. 17. Conceiving it would honour the great profession we make of Christ, and very much of that kind; as also in reference to the Nations advantage with very much simplicitie. Others humbly thinking Christ hath taken to Himself His own power, begun to break here who will not bow, and is going on; whilst they are not free to own His dispensations, neither shall wee own them, not because they are our Enemies, but our Lord's. I have heard of some failing of Capt. Price; I hint itt that you maie not trust too farre.

Praie much for us, and that our work maie be accepted of the lord and His People; if wee displease not there wee care not, though wee wish to doe good to and refresh all. My endeared love to yourslf and all Saints.—Yours, T. H.

30th daie 2nd month 1653 [April 30, 1653].

Eighteenth Letter

[This Letter has to do with the selection of the Little Parliament.]

Major-General Harrison to Col. Jones.

My dearly beloved and honourable in the Lord,—Your letter of the 13th inst. with the enclosed to my Lord Gen. and seasonable warning words, came safe to my hands yesterdaie. The last having read in Councell, I sent to be printed for the use of all in, or that maie come into power; that soe directed I delivered to the Gen.'s hands, hoping some use will be made thereof also, though I repent my not taking a copy.

I presume Brother Powell acquainted you our thoughts as to the persons most in them, to serve on behalfe the Saints in North Wales; that wee propound three for the North, three for South Wales. Hugh Courtenay, John Browne, Richard Price, out of your parts; wherein I wish the help of yourself and others if wee have erred in the men, or to confirm us therein if approved by the most spirituall, or that you would send upp two or three names of the most polished, in case there bee cause of anie addition or alteration, though itt were by lott.

Your lines are very acceptable here to manie, full of councell and encouragement as oft, therefore as the Lord minds you of us send a word. Wee are waiting on the Lord of Hoasts for his reiturne from sea, a thorough stroak there might bee very teaching

and confirming of his poore servants ; then perhaps for France, Bourdeux having sent agents to crave aid against their Kinge. The Lord give us hearts suitable to the time and works done. My deare love and service to you and yours. T. H.

Whitehall, 17th 3 m. '53 [May 17, 1653].

Nineteenth Letter

[This Letter was written after Harrison's imprisonment at Carisbrooke, in company with John Rogers, and bears the marks of his influence,]

Major-General Harrison to Col. Jones. Highgate, 12th d. 5th m. 1653 [July 12, 1656].

My deerely beloved in the Lord,—Your large and loving letter dated 6th daie of the 3rd month came not to my hands till a full month after, and then found me under trouble of so manie kinds (upon my Father's decease) that I have been to my grief, hithertoo interrupted to send you answer.

Though you therein mentioned several things very serious and weighty, and which might challenge some account, yet because I am one with you in most of them, and conceiving your letter was chiefly upon your great proposall (the express termes whereof I shall retorne, viz., to agree (as is already) to act in dearest love expressed to him named protector (or Mount Sirion as the Sidionians called Hermon, and David in the spirit followed that faithfully, believingly, undoubtingly, unanimously, that He would retreat in action of undertaking (and soe witness repentance by condisention) and wee would as willingly repent of our sinfull dissentions). I shall therefore apply what I have now brought to offer, onely to that.

You propose, that wee agree to act in dearest love, etc., yett add, as is alreadie the meaning, whereof I do not fully conceive, because itt seems to imply wee should noe that, which is done already.

You propose in general to deale wisely, rationally, plainly, etc., which from my hearte I desire to observe in whatever I shall have to doe with him ; but you doe not assign anie thing particularly wherein I shall soe deale.

The ends you propose my hearte saith amen to. That He may

retreat from the evil of his waies, and myselfe from mine, for both or either of which I hope my soule would bless Jehovah, and therefore bee thanckfull for anie gracious helpe or mercies in order thereunto. I can affirme I desire not a haire from anie of their heads for anie unkindness to mee, I could bless them that curse and praie for my persecutors as they are myne. For all the upright in heart amongst them I daily aske mercy, as for my own soule, I confess also, I have much cause to bee ashamed for the best of my doings, much more wherein manifold infirmities have beene compassing, yett I must not deny the grace and simplicity God hath given, to keepe the word of his patience in this daie, though in weak measure, I maie also tell you my feares (for which I have manie grounds whereupon I conceive) that some have committed as sore trespasse as anie mentioned in the holy Scriptures from Cain to Judas. That adoreing heart hath soe turned aside, they cannot saie, is there not a lye in my right hand Isa. 44. 20. They have chosen their own waies, and I think, Isa. 66. 3, 4, 5 is very applicatory to them. Soe, 2 Thess. 2. 11. I thinke they have forsaken the Lord, theire defence is departed, yea is turned to bee their enemy which waie soever they turned. Though they cry, He heares not, though His hand bee lifted, they see not. But whilst this distress is upon them they trespasse yet more, 2 Cron. 28. 22. What you have to write, or (if the Lord soe please) to speake to mee in this matter (because Capt. Taylor hath hinted a little hope of seeing you) I begg an equall mind, open deare and hearte unto, and therein variously begg the helpe of your prayers. I have much cause to acknowledge your tender love and respects manie waies, in thanckfull remembrance whereof I remain, yours much engaged, and firmly endeared in the Lord,

T. HARRISON.

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